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JESUIT LETTERS AND ALLIED PAPERS ON
MOGOR. TIBET, BENGAL AND BURMA

EDITED BY THE REV H HOSTEN, S J

PART I

MONGOLICÆ LEGATIONIS COMMENTARIUS

OR

THE FIRST JESUIT MISSION TO AKBAR

BY

(FR ANTHONY MONSERRATE, S J,
(LATIN TEXT).)



CALCUTTA

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Introduction	515
Text of the MS	532
Monserate's Index	677
Appendix A —On the Scythians	691
Appendix B —Wilford's quotations from Monserate's lost Vol II	693
Appendix C —Monserate's Map	702

Illustrations

- Facsimile of the title-page to face p 532
- Facsimile of fol 138a to face p 672
- Facsimile of the Map facing fol 4b to be placed at the end

Errata

- At p 523, l 11 from top, read 140b for 104b
- At p 531, l 18 from top The building with a gable roof near Bībī Mariām's *kothī* is not the only one of its kind at Fatehpur Sikrī

INTRODUCTION

In 1909, the Rev Father A Van de Mergel, S J , submitted for my inspection an old MS volume, the title of which ran thus —

ANTONII, MONSERRATI, SACERDOTIS, E, SOCIETATE, JESV

Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius

“A commentary of the Embassy to the Mongol, by Anthony Monserrate, Priest of the Society of Jesus,” in other words, Monserrate’s account of the first Jesuit Mission to Emperor Akbar, under Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva (1580-1583) ¹

In 1907, I pointed to the existence of an anonymous account referring to this subject, and fathered it on Monserrate, ² but, of all places, I little expected that what turns out to be the original of a much more valuable document than I had anticipated would have been discovered in Calcutta

With its faded red cloth over the cardboard covers, its grey leather round corners and back, the binding looks quite modern. On the back near the top, appears in gold MONSERRATI | SACERDOTISE | covering a similar inscription older in date and now scarcely traceable

“Monserrati Sacerdotise”—It is not the binder who was responsible for this Latin, but the Librarian, as the brackets in blue pencil on the title-page testify to this day

Below XVI L 27, in black, on a strip of paper pasted to the back. These figures recur in blue pencil on the recto of the fly-leaf between the title and the cover, and I find them a third time stamped in printer’s ink almost right in the centre of the title-page. This is the press-mark of the Metcalfe Hall Collection or Calcutta Public Library, as appears from the Catalogue of that Library, Edn 1898, p 9

In the centre of the title-page have been drawn with a pair of compasses sets of concentric rings three sets of two, the outer one of three. Within the smallest circle the monogram of the Society of Jesus, IHS, with three nails below. Between the second and third set of circles we read *Jesus pars hæreditatis meæ, Ps 15,*

¹ Monserrate was born at Vic de Ozona (Catalonia) in 1536. His father, who had known St. Ignatius of Loyola at the Universities of Spain, related such marvellous things about him that, from early childhood, young Anthony felt an attraction towards the Society of Jesus. Admitted in January 1558 at Barcelona, he professed the Humaniora, and became Prefect of Studies at Lisbon. During the “great plague” of 1569, he devoted himself with uncommon zeal to the care of the sick, and, when the scourge had abated, he begged help for waifs and orphans, and founded the famous convent of St. Martha. In 1574, he embarked for India with the glorious band of 39 Missionaries headed by Fr Alexander Valignani. Cf C SOMMERVOGEL, S J , *Biblioth. de la C. de J.*, E. DE GUILHERMY, S J , *Mémoires de la C. de J.*, *Assistance d’Espagne*, vol I 384. A full account of his life is to be found in Fr Anth Franco’s (S J) *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado de Lisboa*, Coimbra, M DCC XVII, pp 278-301

² Cf my brochure *Jesuit Missionaries in North India and inscriptions on their tombs at Agra* (1580-1803) Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press 3 and 4 Portuguese Church Street, 1907, p 7

and again, between the third and fourth sets *Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclavis*, Ps 15¹

Below this *Ad P Claudium Aquaviva totius Societatis Præpositum*

In pencil, and in a different hand *Sanaæ, 7 Idibus Januarii 1591*. The year, first written in pencil, was traced again with ink. Close by, in the right margin, by Fr Monserrate apparently, but in a different ink, a microscopic note *Expeditio ad Chabul | 6 Id Feb | 1581 | 44b |*²

In the right margin, at the top, near Fr Monserrate's name in the title, a pencil mark *Missionarius | cum P Rodolfo | Aquaviva | A S H 1582*

I turn to the verso of the title-page and learn that the MS was at one time in the Library of Fort William College (Calcutta),³ whence it must have passed into the Metcalfe Hall Collection, and thence into the Imperial Library, for, at the bottom of the page occurs a red quadrangular seal with the words *Transferred from Imperial Library, 7 Apr 1903*

Transferred, and whither? To St Paul's Cathedral Library (Anglican), Calcutta, where the Rev W K Firminger discovered it in 1906

Mr W Corfield suggested the following explanation for the curious blunder which brought the MS into St Paul's Cathedral Library. When the Metcalfe Hall Collection was, a few years back, merged into the Imperial Library and stock taken, the Librarian must have considered the work as "one of purely theological interest"

"It is with propriety," he added, "that the book has become the property of the Cathedral Library, for it passed from Lord Wellesley's Collection of Fort William to the Metcalfe Hall Collection, and was most probably given to the College by its Vice-Principal, the Rev Claudius Buchanan, the man to whose strenuous and successful efforts was due the creation of the See of Calcutta in 1813"⁴

Whatever may have been Dr Buchanan's connections with the See of Calcutta, the fact that he presented the book to Fort William College is, I am afraid, a mere assumption of Mr W Corfield's

There can be little doubt that the MS was originally a precious heirloom of the Jesuits in India. Considering the extreme rarity of the work and its importance for the history of the Society it would have been guarded with jealous care. What then brought it to Calcutta? I shall try, further on, to answer this query as well as the present state of our knowledge allows

For the present let me continue the description of the MS and point out that on the recto of the title-leaf, just above the title, I read "IP46" in printer's ink

¹ Evidently an allusion to Monserrate's six and a half years' captivity in Arabia

² "At Sanaa, on the 7th before the Ides of January, 1591"—Of course, it ought to be *7 Idus*

³ Kēbul in Afghanistan—"44b" refers to fol 44 verso

⁴ This college was founded by Marquis Wellesley on May 4th, 1800

⁵ Cf *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta, 1908, No 2, p 184. In his lecture on the Bengal District Records before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, January 18th, 1912, the Rev W K Firminger gives 1906 as the date of his discovery. Cf *The Englishman* at Calcutta, February 6th, 1912. The discovery was announced at the time in the Calcutta newspapers

Another library mark this, which had been covered with a strip of white paper To the left of "IP46" are three letters in pencil, almost faded E 93 This is a press-mark again, the explanation of which I have been able to ascertain with the help of Pandit Gobin Lal Banerjee of the Board of Examiners, Park Street It occurs against No 1017 of the printed *Catalogue of the books in the Library of the College of Fort William* The catalogue bears no date, but a note added in the volume by Colonel G S A Ranking, and referring to *Proc* vol xv, p 393, tells us that it was prepared in 1818 The entry under No 1017 (p 73) is as follows "*Monsserrati Sacerdotis e Societate Jesu, Mongolica Legationis Commentarius*" an octavo MS in Latin, 1581 Written on the cover Monserrate's Mogul Embassy E 93" This inscription on the cover is no more to be seen The book must have been rebound since From a MS catalogue of the books transferred from Fort William College Library to the Calcutta Public Library Society on January 30th, 1836, we learn that Monserrate's MS was one of them¹

We can account, therefore, for all the library-marks, except IP46, and can trace the history of the MS as far back as 1818 IP46 is the oldest mark of all Did it not belong to one of the former houses of the Jesuits in Goa? It is scarcely possible to establish this in India Most of the books of the Jesuit houses in Goa were shipped off to Lisbon, to the "Torre do Tombo," under Pombal,² and the late events in Portugal make it still more difficult to compare notes We suggest, however, that if the catalogues of our Goa libraries have been kept, the Monserrate MS will be found entered in them

I come to a closer inspection of the volume

On the verso of the title-page we have a list of Monserrate's authorities, which goes far to prove that he approached his subject with most of the geographical and historical lore of the ancients at his fingers' ends The Bible, Commentaries of the Bible, the Jewish historian Josephus, St Jerome, Trogus Pompeius, Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Apollodorus, Solinus, Lucanus the Poet, Diodorus of Sicily, Paul Jovius, Bishop of Nocera, Æneas Silvius (later Pope Pius II), St Antoninus (Archbishop of Florence), the *Speculum Historiarum* of Vincentius, Anthonius Coccus Sabellicus, Raphael Volaterranus, and João de Barros had all been examined Among his authorities of "inferior" rank, Monserrate mentions Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo and Peter Mexia, the latter of whom derived his knowledge of the wars of Timur "from

¹ These catalogues are in the Archives of the Board of Examiners, Park Street

Mr J A Ismael Gracins, of Pangim (Goa), writes to me that the Bibliotheca Nacional of Goa contains only two or three insignificant and damaged books formerly belonging to the Jesuits of Goa In 1776 he adds, one Mr Dancour, of the Paris Academy, came to Goa and bought some of the MSS formerly in the Jesuit Archives—Sir J Emerson Fennell in the introduction to his *Ceylon* (Vol I, xxviii) writes "Within the last few years, the Trustees of the British Museum purchased from the library of the late Lord Stuart de Rothesay the diplomatic correspondence and papers of Sebastião João Carvalho e Mello (Portuguese Ambassador at London and Vienna, and subsequently known as the Marquis de Pombal) from 1738 to 1747, including sixty volumes relating to the history of the Portuguese possessions in India and Brazil during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries Amongst the latter are forty volumes of despatches relating to India entitled *Collecção Authentica de todas as Leys, Regimentos, Alvarás e mais ordens que se expediram para a India, desde o estabelecimento destas conquistas Ordenada por proviram de 28 de Março de 1754* MSS Brit Mus., No 20,861 to 20,900"

Baptista Egnatū, Fulgosus, Platina, Matthew Palmeyro, and Cambinus, the Florentine" As may be seen, it is no easy matter, in a place like Calcutta, to check the references to this host of writers. Several of the authors quoted are not to be found even in J. C. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire* (Paris, 1863, 6 vols.)

Below this catalogue, Monserrate takes as his motto "*In pondere, numero et mensura*"

There is a preface to the work. Monserrate's preface will repay reading. At first it took no small amount of pains to decipher the three centuries old writing. The text, though written as a whole in a uniform hand, is full of deletions and additions made at a later period. These notes often run down the margins and have sometimes been badly mauled by the knife of the binder.

F 1a "Anthony Monserrate, of the Society of Jesus, to Father Claudius Aquaviva, General of the whole Society. Greeting

"Such was the diligence of the ancients that they would note down most carefully the every-day occurrences of their travels. When Alexander the Macedonian undertook his expedition into Asia, he entrusted Eratosthenes with the care of this matter. Antiochus Nicator, son of Seleucus Nicator, commissioned Artemidorus to do the same. Julius Cæsar took this labour upon himself, when he wrote the *Commentaries* of his wars. The Kings of Persia, as we read in Esdras, were not less careful, for the "Chroniclars," who were said to record the "events," were ordered to omit nothing of what happened.¹ In later times, many who journeyed either by land or sea imitated this diligence, and by their devotion to the excellent studies of Geography, History and Nautical matters, they added not a little to the treasures of the Republic of Letters.

"For this and many other reasons, ever since the days of our Father Ignatius of happy memory, who was the first to prescribe it, it has become customary in the Society of Jesus to write down whatever occurs. Roderic Vincentius,² the Superior of the Province of the Society in India, what time we set out to go to Zelaldin Equebar, King of the Mongols, charged me to record whatever would happen both on the way and during our stay with the King. The nature of my calling and the rule of the Society imposing on me the obligation of obeying to the letter, I so conformed to his order that, every day at night, for full two years and a half, I committed to writing the events of that day. In this daily labour of a chronicler, I have described

F 1b the various particulars which my travels and circumstances brought under my notice. These are rivers, towns, countries, the customs and manners of peoples, temples, religions, the leanings—simulated leanings, it is true,—which the King, when we had come to his court, manifested towards the religion of Christ, as also the kindness which, from mere self-interest, he affected towards Rodolf, to whom had been confided

¹ "Nam, quia ab accidentibus appellabatur, et scribere accidentia dicebatur, res in imperio istius quod accidere præter hanc quæ litteris committitur." There is a reference in the left margin to Esdras 3:2. The reference is to III Esdras 2:15, 17 and 25. "Rathimus a recorderis," and "Rathimus, quæ et ribela a rideria." The Greek has τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν.

² Ruy Vicente

love blind and deceive me, I am of opinion that it will not prove useless to the students of Geography and Antiquity, especially to those of Ours, who apply themselves to the classics, when they come across historical matters concerning India

"Whatever pertains to the Mission of our Priests, to their sojourn at the King's Court, and the issue of the Chabul war, I wrote down truthfully, as it all happened and I saw with my own eyes [As to the particulars concerning Cinguiscan, Temurbeg, the Scythians and the Mongols, which I have, so to say, borrowed and inserted after my narrative, at the end of this first book, I learned them, in the first place, from King Zelaldin himself, then from a journal containing an account of the travels of a certain ambassador of Henry IV, King of Castille, to Temur, ' finally, from many writers of no mean authority.

F 2b "I have divided the work into two books this, the former one, is an account of the first Mission to the King of the Mongols, the latter contains, by way of appendix and scholium to the former, what appertains to the Geography and Natural History of India *intra Gangem*, the customs of the ancient aborigines and the present-day natives]² In two other books, which I have added to the two former ones, I describe on the same plan, in the first, my departure for Ethiopia, in the second, the Geography and Natural History of Arabia "

"In these writings—I say it without presumption—I have endeavoured, for the sake of the Professors of our schools, to correct, clear up and conciliate, as modestly and temperately as possible, not a few passages of the Geographers and Historians who deal with matters Indian or Arabian

"Would to God that my labour redound to the glory of God's name and to the advancement of knowledge, which we must not only ardently wish, but strive after with all our might If, in your wisdom, you judge that this double object has been attained in my two-fold study, I believe that it will amply commend itself to you Farewell

"At Sanaa, the 7th before the Ides of January, in the year of the Lord one thousand five hundred and ninety-one" [Jan 7, 1591]

Several passages in this preface call for comment

It is plain, first, from the many deletions and accretions, which the author alone

¹ Allusion to the *Embassy of Rui Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Temur* of which C. Markham gave an English translation in 1850 Hakluyt Society, London

² The passage in [] is a later improvement by Monserrate on the following "As to those particulars concerning Cinguiscan Temurbeg the Scythians and the Mongols which for the sake of Zelaldin, I added by way of parergon at the end of the work, I learned them, in the first place from King Zelaldin himself then from a diary of the travel of an ambassador of Henry IV King of Castille, to Temur finally from Strabo, Q Curtius, Pliny, Ptolemy, Diodorus Justinus, Sabellicus Antonianus of Florence Pius II and Paul Jovius, of Novarra authors of no mean authority I finished the work at Sanaa and added another work—[at first "another small work, a kind of small appendix or scholium" Then, after changing the word "opusculum" = "small work" to "libellus," Monserrate erased "libellus" of small appendix or scholium] in which I described what appertains to Natural History and to the customs of the ancient aborigines and indigenes customs which agree with those of the present day natives "

The last words have been partly cut away by the binder We reconstitute the sense, as best we can

The reference to his two books on Ethiopia and Arabia was written at a later date, as appears lower down by his allusion to his "two-fold" study, where his two books on India are alone meant

could have introduced into the text, that the Calcutta MS is not a copy, but Monserrate's original MS, such as it came from his pen in his prison of Sanaa

This, in brief, is the earlier history of the volume. After his return from Fatehpūr to Goa, at the end of August (?), 1582,¹ Monserrate prepared to go to Portugal and Rome in company with Abdul, Akbar's Ambassador,² the same who had come to Goa in 1579 and invited the Jesuits in Akbar's name to Fatehpūr. But, as only one ship was to set sail for Portugal that year, and it was deemed below the dignity of Akbar's representative to go to Lisbon without a suitable escort, Abdul and Monserrate were requested to wait till the next year. Monserrate lost no time in sending to Europe a report of his late experiences at Fatehpūr and of his journey to Kābul. Prince Frederic von Schleswig-Holstein (Graf von Noer) wrote in 1880

"An excellent report (anonymous) dated from Goa, Nov. 26, 1582, is in my hands. It describes the state of things at Akbar's Court, and is a copy from the Spanish Archives obtained by the good offices of Don Pascual de Guayangos."

Count von Noer's copy may be still in existence, but, that of the Spanish Archives seems to have met with a different fate. "When I was at Madrid," writes Clements Markham, "Don Pascual de Guayangos gave me a copy of a very interesting Spanish Manuscript by an anonymous missionary (probably Aquaviva) who describes the personal appearance and habits of Akbar. It was left at the Asiatic Society, before Mr Vaux's time, and was mislaid. Don Pascual has also mislaid the original, so that the loss is irremediable."

From the quotations made by Count von Noer regarding the Gujarāt and Kābul campaigns I concluded in 1907 that the "excellent anonymous report" was the work of Monserrate.³ On better grounds now than then am I justified in concluding the same.

Through the kindness of a confrère in Europe, I received in 1910 a photographic facsimile of the "anonymous report" from Goa, November 26, 1582. It is in Portuguese, covers pp. 7½ foolscap, and was sent '2a via,' i.e., it was a duplicate. How many copies were made of it at Goa, or how many in Europe, we do not know. The copy before me is not in Monserrate's own hand, though evidently it is one of his lucubrations. Excellent as it is, it is a very inferior document compared with the Calcutta MS. At best, it is a rapid character-sketch of Akbar, an abstract of Monserrate's diary.⁴ Between September (?) and November 26, 1582, Monserrate had little time, and, besides, what he could not write then, he expected to be able to relate by word of mouth the next year in Portugal. The next year all was changed. In February 1583, Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva left Akbar's Court. There was no hope

¹ Monserrate had arrived at Surat on his way back to Goa on August 4th 1582. Cf. fol. 103r. 3

² Cf. MS fol. 104b. 1

³ Cf. COUNT VON NOER *The Emperor Akbar*, translated and in part revised by Annette S. Peveridge, Calcutta Thacker, 1800, vol. I, pp. 331-2.—von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar* had appeared in 1880.

⁴ Cf. *Akbar, An Eastern Romance*, by Dr. P. A. S. Van Limburg Broecker. Translated from the Dutch by M. I. with notes and an introductory life of Akbar by Cl. R. Markham. London: Allen, 1900, p. xxx.

⁵ Cf. VON NOER *Akbar* (1880), Vol. II, pp. 11-12, 77-78, 81-82, 97-98. Cf. also *Jesuit Mission in the East*, by E. D. MacLagan, C.S., from notes recorded by the late GENERAL MACLAGAN, R.E. *Jesuit Mission in the East*, 1806, p. 47.

⁶ I have published it in *J. A. S. B.*, 1912, pp. 185-221.

of Akbar's conversion The first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court had come to an end, and the projected embassy was allowed to lapse

During the next six years (1582-88), Fr Monserrate was employed in or near Goa, and, as he tells us, he utilized his leisure hours in drawing up a methodical relation of his stay in North India Then came the order to proceed to Ethiopia Captured at Dhafar in Arabia, in December 1588, or January 1589, he was sent on to "Eynan" (Ainad), to "King" Omar

If we combine, at this place, the information contained in the preface with the notes at the end of the book, we gather that he spent the four months of his captivity at Eynan in correcting and adding to his notes "I finished this commentary," he writes, "at Eynan in Arabia, on the day of St Anthony of Padua in the month of June of the year 1590"¹ During the subsequent march on Sanaa, he was robbed of his MSS by the Turks, but the Turkish Viceroy had them restored to him "My copy (*exemplar*) was taken by the Turks, but I received it back at Sanaa, on the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, in the month of October of the same year"² Again, he tells us that he finished making a fair copy of the original on December 11th, 1590 "*Finem describendi et ab exemplaris litteris vindicandi feci Senaa in Arabia, ferijs D Damasi PP mensis Decembris anni 1590*"³ Finally, the preface is dated from Sanaa, January 7th, 1591, and insists on the fact that the work was free from erasures

In fact, the Calcutta MS, which appears to have been written with a quill, is in a uniform hand from fol 1 to fol 140 verso The suppressions, corrections, and additions were made at a later date, as is plain from the different kinds of ink employed and the nature of some changes introduced into the text or marginally

Some additions were made after his return from captivity in Arabia Monserrate was six years and a half a captive in Arabia Ransomed thence with Father P Paez, he returned to Goa (December 1596) An old man now, he was posted to Salsette to recover his health "*tanquam in asylum quietis causa*," and died there on March 5th, 1600 Evidently, the note introduced into the preface about his account of the journey to Ethiopia and about his MS on the Geography and Natural History of Arabia could have been written only at the end of his captivity in Arabia, when a long sojourn had made him thoroughly familiar with the country Judging from the writing, I conclude that that note was not penned till after Monserrate's return to Goa At fol 105a, there is an allusion to the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court, under Fr Jerome Xavier This Mission had left Goa only on December 3rd, 1594, and Monserrate could hardly have heard of it before his return to Goa Besides, at fol 138a 3 we have an allusion to the death of 'Abdullah Khān, king of Samarqand and Bukhārā, who died on Febr 12, 1597⁴

We can recognize at least six stages in the composition of the MS the 1st, the

¹ i.e. June 13th, 1590 Cf fol 140b

² i.e. October 21st, 1590 Cf *ibid*

³ "I finished this copy and freed it from the erasures of the original, at Sanaa in Arabia, on the day of St Damasus, Pope, in the month of December 1590" (December 11th)

⁴ Cf KEENE BEALE'S *Orient Biogr Dict*, s.v. 'Abdullah Khān

text from fol 6*a* to fol 104*b*, the 2nd, the preface, the list of geographical names, and the map, the 3rd, a few corrections, mostly marginal, written more boldly and in a blacker ink than the previous two writings, the 4th, the Index written at one stretch with a very sharp quill. The remarks added at the third stage have been embodied in the Index. The 5th, corrections and additions written with a bad spluttering pen, the ink is oxidized and has left in many places a metallic lustre of gold and silver, most of the remarks in Portuguese belong to this period. The 6th, the greatest number of the additions and corrections, these are written in a very small hand, and the ink is oxidized. I judge that the 5th and 6th periods are posterior to Monserrate's return to India. The 6th certainly is. While editing the text, I have not drawn attention to these different stages, except in one or two cases, where it helped to understand the meaning.

There are 140 folios, numbered on the recto only and 14 folios (unnumbered) of Index. References to the foli are marked, e.g. 6*a* 4, 6*b* 3, where 6 means the leaf, *a* and *b* the recto and verso, 4 and 3 the subdivisions of the text on each page. There are on an average twenty-five lines to a page. Leaf 5*a* and 5*b* are missing, but there is a separate leaf containing a map and marked 5 on recto, blank on verso. At verso of fol 14 of the Index, we find the oval library seal of Fort William College Library having an Urdu, Hindi and Bengali inscription. The Hindi inscription runs किताब कालिज फोर्ट वलियम [Book of the Fort William College]. Size between covers (0^m 21 × 0^m 15).

We may notice further that the MS was divided into fascicles of 32 pages, each fascicle bearing a different letter of the alphabet, thus B (fol 27*a*), C (fol 33*a*), D (fol 49*a*), E (fol 65*a*), F (fol 81*a*), G (fol 97*a*), H (fol 113*a*), I (fol 129*a*).

There are also traces of an attempt at dividing the work into four books. Monserrate gave up the idea, however, and cancelled these divisions. At fol 39*a* 4, opposite *Hæc regis benevolentia*, he wrote Lib 2, at fol 105*a* 3, opposite *Fuit vero Rodolfus*, Lib [3 ?], at fol 106*b* 4, opposite *Jamvero ad Zelaldinum*, Lib 3, finally, at fol 140*a* 4, Lib 4, cancelled with the note *Ac cum Zelaldini genus, &c*.

The Calcutta MS, as is evident from the preface and an inspection of the contents, constitutes only a small portion of Monserrate's writings.

Monserrate tells us in his preface that to the volume now before us—let us call it Bk I—was added a "short appendix" with geographical, historical and ethnological observations. Later, he altered the word *opusculum* to *liber*. I can account in some way for this correction and the fact that the "short appendix" grew to the size of a "volume". A large proportion of the pages of Bk I has been cancelled or bracketed by Monserrate. The information in them is mostly of a geographical and antiquarian character. The conclusion is this. Monserrate must have considered that his description of cities, tombs and ruined temples, his excursions into the history of the past, and his considerations on Indian manners and customs broke too often the thread of his narrative of the Mission. He wanted to do away with these *hors-d'œuvre*, as he considered them, and worked them out with other materials in Bk II, his "appendix". Unfortunately, Bk II remains to be discovered. Sometimes, Mon-

serrate warns us in a marginal note that he has changed his mind as to the extent of the passages to be transferred elsewhere *Isto se ha de escrever*, "this is to be written," he notes, meaning "This must remain as part of this first Book, my history of the Moghul Mission" The note of warning implies, also, I believe, that, as the MS of Bk I had, after so many changes, taken again the form of a rough copy, he intended to write it out again, in the abridged form he contemplated Did he ever do so? I note that at fol 97a he writes "tudo esta trelladdo," which would mean "all is transcribed" But are there in existence copies of this abridged form? Probably not If we have to trust our bibliographers, neither Bk I, the Calcutta MS, nor Bk II is known in Europe Fr C Sommervogel, S J, (cf the last edition of *Biblioth de la C de J*) and Monserrate's biographers knew nothing of them

The Calcutta MS is, therefore, all the more valuable For, supposing Bk II to have been lost, much of its contents is still preserved in our MS, and whatever Monserrate may have thought of his *hors-d'œuvre*, the descriptions of towns and ruins interspersed in the narrative are of paramount interest to the historian and antiquarian, and detract little, if at all, from the continuity of the story

Concerning Monserrate's other writings, it would seem that no copies of his account of a journey to Ethiopia and his captivity in Arabia [Bk III], nor of his Geography and Natural History of Arabia [Bk IV] have yet been discovered Fr C Beccari, S J, who is now editing, at the expense of the Italian Government, some sixteen volumes of old Jesuit records regarding Ethiopia, is not aware of them He mentions only two letters of his one dated Sanaa, 22nd July 1593, and indicating to the General in Rome how it would be possible to free him and his companion from captivity, the other, a short letter in Portuguese, dated from Goa, December 7th, 1596, and addressed to the General of the Society, in which he announces his liberation from captivity¹ There is another letter on the same subject by Fr Peter Paez, S J, dated Goa, December 17th, 1596²

If Monserrate's Bks III and IV be lost, we have, at least, as a compensation for the loss of Bk III, Fr P Paez' *Storia d'Etiopia*, of which Bk III (chh 15-22) gives a long account of Paez' and Monserrate's captivity Fr Emmanuel d'Almeida touches on the same subject in his *Historia de Ethiopia a alia* Bk V, chh 1-7³

¹ I have a photographic facsimile of this letter It covers little more than a page The signature and address are clearly in Monserrate's handwriting He signs "Monserrate" not "Monserrat"—See in *J A S B*, 1896, p 76, what happened at Akbar's Court at Lahore, when a letter of Monserrate's about his captivity was read before the Emperor by Fr Jerome Xavier

² These letters have appeared in Fr C. Beccari's *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptores*, Vol X, Romae, C de Luigi, 1910, Nos 126, 139

³ Cf C BECCARI, S J *Notizia e Saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII, e XVIII* Roma, 1903, p 11, and s v Monserrate I have no means of discovering to what work the following extract from Monserrate's Menology alludes "Travelling with Fr Peter Paez from Mascot to Zeila, in order to penetrate into Ethiopia, Monserrate was cast by a violent tempest upon the coast of Dabar, laden with chains and taken across the sands through the desert of Hadramaut as far as the town of Amad where the King of that country resided We have still the account of the captivity of these two apostolic men, first at the court of the petty King of Amad, next at the court of the Turkish Pasha of Yemen, who claimed them as slaves of the Grand Seigneur and ordered them to be brought to the prisons of Sana, finally on the hulks of Mocha, where they were chained to the oars with the galley slaves" Cf E DE GUILHERMY S J, *Ménologe de la C de J, Assist. d'Espagne*, Vol I p 384 The

To return to Monserrate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, what do we know of the earlier vicissitudes of the volume? I am sorry to say that I can ascertain very little with certainty. So much is sure, that none of our bibliographers was acquainted with the work, and that none of the biographers of Bl Rudolf Aquaviva utilized it. It is not mentioned, for instance, in the long list of Bartoli's authorities at the beginning of his *Missione al Gran Mogor*, and though I have addressed myself to three of the best authorities on Jesuit bibliography in Europe, H. Hafner (Holland), C. Beccari (Rome), and the Editor of the *Monumenta Historica S. J.* (Madrid), no information has been elicited.

In 1907, I wrote that a report of the Provincial of Goa, dated November, 1590, contained a reference to Monserrate's MS.¹ The passage is as follows: "Father Anthony Monserrate states that when the Emperor took him on an expedition [to Kābul] which he at one time made, he had with him five thousand elephants, exclusive of those used for baggage, and that in the whole Empire there are 50,000 elephants stationed for warlike purposes at various centres." The latter part of this statement about the 50,000 elephants does not occur in the Calcutta MS., and it is evident that the Provincial did not quote from the Calcutta MS., since in 1590 Monserrate was still at work on it in Arabia. Nor is the passage found in the abstract made by Monserrate in 1582, to which I alluded above.²

Even Father Francis de Sousa, S. J., who wrote his *Oriente Conquistado* at Goa from materials "da nossa secretaria de Goa," does not seem to have been acquainted with Monserrate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*. It is true, de Sousa acknowledges openly his indebtedness to Monserrate's MSS. in his *Oriente Conquistado*,³ and most of the incidents related by him concerning the journey of the three first Jesuits to Fatehpūr are, indeed, to be found in our MS., but there are so many details not traceable in it that I must conclude he was in possession of letters written by Monserrate and his companions from the various stages of their journey to Fatehpūr. de Sousa may have had Monserrate's Bk. II. As for his remarks on the Tibetans,⁴ they do not seem to be taken either from Bk. I or from Monserrate's report of November 26th, 1582, alluded to above. If de Sousa had had Bk. I, the MS. before us, the wonder is that he should not have made greater use of it. We do not detect any *ad litteram* quotations. None the less, we have reasons enough to assert that Monserrate had brought back his MSS. from Arabia, and we may well suppose that

reference must be to one of the following of de Guillermy's authorities: JUVENCIUS *Hist. Soc.*, part. a lib. 22 n. 13, pp. 701, 703; FRANCO, *Ann. glorios.*, 5a Mart. p. 136; TELLEZ, *Chronica S. J. na Provincia de Portugal*, t. 2, l. 4 c. 40 and 43; IDEM, *Historia geral da Ethiopia*, pp. 209—229; DU JARRIC, *Hist. des choses mémorables advenues des Indes*, liv. 1, ch. 20, p. 322, liv. 2, ch. 9, p. 615; ch. 11, p. 630; D'OULTREMAN, *Tableaux des personnages signalés*, p. 259.

¹ Cf. my *Jesuit Missionaries in North India*, *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

² Cf. C. D. MACLAGAN, *Jesuit Mission to Emperor Akbar*, in *J. As. Soc. Ben.*, 1806, p. 63.

³ In the Calcutta MS. we find at fol. 48a. 3, that about 100 fighting elephants and camels accompanied the Kābul expedition. At fol. 51b. 2 we read that Akbar kept at his own expense 5,000 elephants, 45,000 horse and a very large number of foot soldiers. In time of war, his vassals were required to bring in their quota.

⁴ Cf. *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisboa, MDCCX, Vol. II, C. I, D. II, §§ 43—48, 53—64. Father F. Goldie, S. J., made good use of this work in his *The First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*, Dublin, Gill, 1897.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, C. I, D. II, § 63.

after his death, in the College of Salsette near Goa, they had found their way to the Jesuit Archives of Goa

I come to the allusions to Monserrate's writings in Colonel Wilford's geographical and historical studies contributed to the *Asiatick Researches* of Calcutta "The original MSS of Monserrate's travels is in my possession," he writes¹ (*As Res*, XI, 1807, p 230, n 1) And again, in a paper published in 1851, but written in reality 40 years earlier, we read, after a Latin quotation from Monserrate "The original MS is in my possession" (*Journ As Soc Beng*, 1851, p 247) Strange that, on the ground of his hazardous theories,² Wilford should, in this matter too, have been disbelieved³ Wilford was, no doubt, very bold, but throughout his writings there is a ring of honesty which cannot be mistaken To the quotations adduced by the Hon'ble E D MacLagan *As Res* (1807) IX, 57, 212, 230, I can add the following *Ibid* (1799) VI, 496, 497, (1805) VIII, 324, 328, IX (1810), p 73, (1822) XIV, 454, *Journ As Soc Beng* (1851), 242, 247, 248, 266, 269, 271, 473, 481 In all these passages Monserrate's "MS" is openly acknowledged, and what is interesting, though very galling, is that Wilford's quotations do not refer to the Calcutta MS at all, but to Monserrate's Bk II now lost This is clear from many passages, *eg*, from what he quotes concerning the thirteen basso-relievo figures upon a rock-temple at Gwalior, which Monserrate said looked like the figures of Our Lord and his twelve Apostles (*As Res* IX, 212) That passage is, indeed, found in the Calcutta MS It is one of the many bracketed ones which Monserrate intended (?) to transfer to Bk II, but, whereas it occurs on the verso of fol 17 of the Calcutta MS, Wilford—the only time that he refers to the pagination of the MS in his possession—quotes p 164 Again, the texts quoted in *Journ As Soc Beng* (1851), pp 247, 266, and the note taken from a map by Monserrate (*ibid*, p 271) are not to be found in the Calcutta MS I conclude then that Wilford had in his possession the original of Monserrate's Bk II⁴ A

¹ MSS is here used as a singular by Wilford—"The original MSS of Monserrate's travels" would seem to refer to the Calcutta MS rather than to Monserrate's Bk II, but, the text quoted does not occur in the Calcutta MS

² In 1851 some of the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal requested to have Wilford's *Comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India* published "in the hope that the conjectures and even fallacies of such a man as Col Wilford would not prove uninteresting" Cf *J A S B*, 1851, p 227

³ Cf E D MACLAGAN, *Op cit*, *J A S B*, 1896, pp 49-50

⁴ Wilford died at Benares Over his tomb in the Old Civil Cemetery we read "Sacred to the memory of Francis Wilford, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Engineer Service of the East India Company, aged 71 years, deceased on the 4th September 1822 Encouraged by the liberality of the Government of British India, he fixed his residence at Benares in the year 1788, devoted his life to retirement and study, eminently qualified by previous education, extensive erudition, a true intellect and indefatigable zeal. He made himself master of the classical language and literature of the Hindus, and applied his knowledge to the eradication of the dark periods of antiquity, with a success that perpetuates his own reputation and the honour of the British name in the East In the social relations of life his merits were proportioned to his talents, and the abilities of the scholar were reflected by the virtues of the man"—We have searched in vain for Bk II in the Board of Examiners' Library, the Imperial Library, and the As Soc Library of Calcutta I hoped I had traced one of Col Wilford's descendants in Capt A. Wilford, 5th Light Infantry, Nowgong (Central India), but he tells me on the authority of some biographical work, the reference to which was unfortunately mislaid, that Francis Wilford was a native of Hanover, who came to India in 1781, as an officer with the foreign troops sent by the British Government. E A H BLUNT thinks he was a Swiss Cf his *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs* Allahabad, 1911, p 164, where some interesting facts on Wilford's career have been put together—We have collected in App B the texts of Monserrate quoted by Wilford

clenching argument in this direction is Wilford's note in *As Researches*, XIV (1822), p 454, where he quotes Monserrate in connection with *Cuccum Divá*, a place in Arakan. At foot he adds "In an autograph MS of the author, in my possession The *Padie* wrote about the year 1590, in the prisons of Senna in Arabia". Now, no mention of this place occurs in the Calcutta MS, either in the text or in the map. Besides, our MS is clearly dated (cf end of preface), whereas Wilford's was not, it would seem.

It is not impossible that Wilford's MS should still come to light. Judging from the extracts made by Wilford, we may say that the importance of such a discovery cannot be overrated.

How did Wilford obtain *his* MS? He does not tell us. One of the suggestions that might be made is that Bk II, and perhaps also the Calcutta MS, had found its way from Goa to the Jesuit College of Agra, and that Wilford obtained his volume from Father J Tieffentaller, S J. In the eighteenth century, the Jesuits in North India played a conspicuous part as scholars and scientists. We have all too soon forgotten the honourable position they occupied at the Court of the Moghul Emperors, what they did at the Court of Jay Singh II of Jaypur, as astronomers,¹ or again, what valuable services were rendered by them to Indian Geography, in particular by Fr J Tieffentaller. If Monserrate's MSS on India were not already at Agra, where they would have been more useful generally than at Goa, Tieffentaller might have procured them from Goa. He would naturally have been looked up to by his confrères as the man best fitted to utilize those materials. Then came the suppression of the Society in the Portuguese dominions in 1759. Fathers J Tieffentaller and Francis Xavier Wendel were soon the only quondam Jesuits left in North India. Neither of them could now obtain from their brethren in Europe the assistance they would formerly have received for the publication of their valuable writings. Both addressed themselves to strangers and freely bestowed on them the fruits of their labours and those of their predecessors. Tieffentaller sent his learned geographical and historical disquisitions to Anquetil du Perron and Dr Krutzenstein of Copenhagen.² Father Wendel presented Colonel Popham with a map and a MS memoir on the land of the Rajputs and other Provinces to the S-W of Agra, both drawn up "in 1779 by P Wendle".³ If they were so liberal towards strangers with their own MSS, they may be supposed to have been not less generous with those of others. Wilford received from Fr Wendel an account of the travels of Czernicheff, a Russian, from Bokhara to Kashmir in 1780. In the same way he obtained from Fr Tieffentaller extracts from Otter's works which the Father had procured from Europe (cf *Journal de Soc Beng*, 1851, p 240). He saw Fr Tieffentaller at Lucknow in 1784, one

¹ The Rev Fr S Noti, S J, St Xavier's College Bombay, has published a monograph on this subject *Land und Volk des kónigl. Astronomen Dschaisinz II Maharadscha von Dschaitpur*. Berlin D Reimer 1911, 8vo, pp vii + 104, 18 illustr in text & photograv. 2 coloured maps. Mks 8.

² Cf REV S NOTI, S J *Joseph Tieffentaller a forgotten Geographer of India*, Bombay, 1906.

³ What became of the papers sent to Copenhagen? For the list of them, Cf C. SOMMERVOGEL, S J, *Bibl de la Cte J*, Bruxelles 1898, Vol VIII.

⁴ Cf JAMES RENNELL *Description histor et geogr de l'Indostan*. Paris, Poignee, 1800. Vol I, pp XXI-XXII, 198, 199. Vol II, p 242.

year before "the good old man's death" (Cf *Is Rts*, 1807, IX, p 212) It is very tempting to suggest that somehow or other Wilford obtained Monserrate's MS — Bk II—from the old man at Lucknow Tieffentaller having died without natural heirs, Wilford might have considered himself justified in keeping what no one would be able to turn to better use than himself On the other hand, what tells strongly against this assumption is that no allusion to Monserrate's MSS is to be found in Tieffentaller's *Beschreibung von Hindustan*, and yet both Bk I and Bk II would have been most useful for his geographical disquisitions Several other theories suggest themselves that the MSS escaped the seizure of the Jesuit papers at Goa in 1760, or again, that they formed part of the booty seized by the Muhammadans in the College of Agra before 1735 Fr Emmanuel de Figueiredo, S J, wrote in 1735 from "Mogor" that the "first and original" documents of the Agra Mission Archives had disappeared in such a raid¹

Whatever explanation be true, there remains a mystery to clear up in connection with the Calcutta MS At some date already distant, it was diligently studied by an Englishman, a geographer, a scholar, a man with all the tastes of a Wilford, and yet I cannot determine by whom

I alluded in the beginning to certain pencil-marks on the title-page Similar pencil-marks, which I take to have come from one and the same hand, occur in the margins here and there In certain striking passages, every line has been scored under "A B" the anonymous annotator writes repeatedly In the case of two double entries in the Index, he strikes out one The geographical and antiquarian portions in particular caught his eye

From fol 2b to fol 4b we have in the MS a double column of names of towns, rivers, mountains and countries passed through by Monserrate in the course of his travels The longitudes and latitudes are all given, and a quite scientific map drawn to scale—the earliest known for portions of India so far north as Lahore and Kābul, and a marvel of accuracy for the time —appears on the recto of the extra leaf marked 5

Who but an Englishman and one interested in geography wrote *Right* near "Tanissar," (Long) $116^{\circ} 50'$, (Lat) $29^{\circ} 43'$, *Right* near "Sultanpur," $114^{\circ} 20'$, $30^{\circ} 25'$, *Right, I think*, near "Calanur," $115^{\circ} 41'$, $31^{\circ} 39'$ For "Panchangari" $116^{\circ} 2'$, $31^{\circ} 30'$, he corrects the minutes of latitude to $40'$, for "Mancot" he corrects (Long) $117^{\circ} 30'$ to $116^{\circ} 30'$, in the case of "Ruytas" [Rotas], he puts Lat $33^{\circ} 10'$ for $33^{\circ} 15'$

He was a scholar, too In the margin of fol 6a,—the writing seems still the same—he notices in Latin that fol 5 is missing and suggests that the loss should be made good by an examination of the Index—a search which yields good results—or by a reference to A Botelho's *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*

He had a knowledge of Persian or Urdu, at all events, for he transliterates *Zelaldin* and *Akbar* into Persian characters (fol 6a)

He calculates the age, the dimensions and the position ($115^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$, $33^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$) of an obelisk, attributed to Rāmchandra, near Ruytas [Rotas], which Monserrate places in Long $114^{\circ} 1'$ and Lat $33^{\circ} 23'$ and describes at fol 66a 3 He notes with

¹ Cf FATHER STOCKLEIN's *Wellbott*, No 592

equal care a second obelisk also attributed to Rāmechandra and situated, according to Monserrate, in the small plain where Akbar encamped after descending the Western slope of the Khuber Pass (Long 110° 13', Lat 34° 20' *Monserrate*).

Finally, from a note on fol. 82b, it is evident—for the writing seems always the same—that our anonymous annotator had consulted Monserrate's Bk. II. The note is in Portuguese: "*Vide Adições para o 2. Livro 1.º Job*," i.e. "See Additions for Bk. II fol. Job."

Is Wilford the author of the pencil-marks? A comparison with his handwriting would readily settle the question, but where are specimens to be obtained? On the other hand, how is it that no allusion to the obelisks is to be found anywhere in Wilford's writings, or that he did not utilize the tables of longitudes and latitudes? Is it likely, too, that Wilford would have presented the MS. and that without Bk. II to Fort William College before 1818, four years at least before his death?

How did the mysterious annotator—we shall call him X—know anything of Father Anthony Botelho's *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*? It is worth copying his note as it stands. Of Akbar's embassy to Goa in 1579, part of which is missing in the Calcutta MS. he writes on fol. 61: "*Card. Joh. 5 ubi relatum fuit aunculo Zela'dir (sic Haichan) terras Bisnagar, Visapor & quaecumque Mogorem Beglam re interarent habere castant. Iste iuxta Bengalam in Romanos Sacerdotes occidit. Vide Art. Botelho De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione, p. 1. Vide INDEX operis huius. Iste Sacerdos Supplet possit ex 1. Botelho De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione excerpte ad eadem Summa memorand. Rerum quae apud Magni Mogoris edit et S. Ledi ⊕ corseca.*" Copies of Fr. Botelho's little treatise *De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione* must be rare enough. There is a copy in the possession of the Society of Jesus, and another in the British Museum. *Marsden MSS. in Catalogue of Asian MSS., Vol. I (1821-11)*. Compare with the title at fol. 1 of No. 6855: "*Summa memorandarum rerum, quae [sic] apud Magni Mogoris Regnum iant et observant Pater Antonias Botelho [a seal?] Societatis Jesu Goanae Provinciae Praepositus Provincialis intra sexcentum, quo illic Superior vixit et Missionarius*" From notes sent me by Mr. W. R. Philipps I know that a new section begins at the top of leaf 14, entitled "*De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione*." This ends at the back of leaf 16. Leaves 1-16 are in Latin, leaves 17-16 are in Portuguese—the Latin being an abridgment of the Portuguese. The writing looks the same throughout. There is no date or signature.

Fr. Botelho went to Agra as Visitor at the end of 1647, and must have arrived at his destination in the beginning of 1648. His name appears on one of our catalogues

¹ In 1701 the question of the whereabouts of the Monserrate MS. mentioned by Wilford was mooted by R. R. W. Ellis in *Notes and Queries* (1870, Vol. I, p. 161) in answer to a question by Col. H. Yule (cf. *ibid.* p. 50). But Mr. Ellis' answer is as disappointing as Col. Yule's query was interesting. Col. Yule called for information about a countryman of his, one George Strachan of the Meris—a Scotchman, Jesuit and Oriental traveller temp. Jac. I. Pietro della Valle met him at Coimbra (Lender Abbas) in 1622, and though he enters into many details of Strachan's history, he was to all appearances ignorant of the fact that Strachan was a Jesuit. Cf. DELLA VALLE'S *Travels* edited by Gancia (Brighton, 1843, Vol. II, pp. 50 and 437). Mr. Ellis' reference to one of Wilford's extracts from Monserrate (45 *loc. cit.* 212) is beside the mark entirely. There is no allusion to Strachan in Monserrate, nor could there be. Monserrate had died in 1600, and Strachan did not go to the East till several years later.

for 1648 as Anthony Botelho (Senior), Visitor and Rector [of Agra] His name appears again in 1649, but no longer in the next extant catalogue of Mogor for 1653 A note by the late Fr J B Van Meurs, S J, tells me that he wrote his *De Moribus et natura religionis Mogorensis* during his Provincialate, in 1670¹

How Marsden got possession of the 10 volumes of MS Annual Letters and documents regarding Japan and China, Goa, Cochín and their Missions is more than we know Was the Calcutta MS part of the Goa spoils which Marsden secured apparently during his sojourn in Sumatra? But then, why was it not presented by him with his other books either to the British Museum or to King's College?²

My conclusion, then, is that Monserrate's Bk I has never been made use of The Calcutta MS is a unique copy, nor will the epithet "excellent," which Graf von Noer applied to a much inferior composition by Monserrate, be found exaggerated In presenting it to the learned world, I anticipate that his *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*, the earliest known account of Northern India by a European since the days of Vasco da Gama, will take rank as a first-rate authority

My reason for publishing the Latin text in the first place is to preserve the original from further mishaps I do not contemplate undertaking a translation The work of the translator and annotator will be one of no ordinary difficulty Several passages almost defy translation, for the simple reason that we are too little acquainted with the condition of many things in Monserrate's time As a case in point, I refer to his descriptions of temples, palaces, and ruins I believe that a translation will do justice to the text only when a host of scholars will have focussed on the original the light of research³ Besides, so many unpublished materials on the Jesuit Missions in Mogor, Tibet and Bengal, of which not a few will further elucidate the present work, have now accumulated under my hands that even a long lifetime will scarcely suffice to dispose of them all I cherish, therefore, the hope that the task of translating and annotating this work will commend itself to someone better qualified and circumstanced than myself

¹ Cf J A S B, 1910, *The Marsden MSS in the British Museum*, pp 448, 453, sqq, and *A Jesuit Father's Account of India in the time of Shāh Jahān*, by Mr H Beveridge in *The Indian Magazine and Review* London, A Constable, pp 264-266

² Father C. Beccari states—on what authority?—that Marsden acquired "at Goa" Fr d'Almeida's *Historia de Ethiopia a alta*, an original autograph, and presented it to the British Museum in 1837 Fr Botelho's *Summa memorandarum rerum* forms part of the same Marsden Collection, and the fact is that nearly all the letters in Add MSS Vols 9854 and 9855, Brit. Mus., are letters from the Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor addressed to the Provincial of Goa—I may mention that the Calcutta MS contains a detached leaf with notes by some theologian, a sort of *promptuarium* references to an Italian work The writing is almost illegible. I have pasted it on at the end of the MS

³ I have translated and commented on Monserrate's description of Delhi in J A S B, 1911, pp 99-108 Mr J P Thompson has since pointed out to me that the Asoka pillar mentioned by Monserrate is not the "golden pillar" of the Kotla, but the pillar of the Jahānumā Cf *ibid*, p 100 n 3 Blochmann's Persian text of the *Āin* gives 5 kos as the length of Firoz Shāh's "third" tunnel to Old Delhi Cf *ibid*, p 104 I have returned to Monserrate's measurements (40 stadia) of Firoz Shāh's "tunnel" in J A S B, 1912, *Firoz Shāh's Tunnels*, pp 279-81 The passages on Lahore and Ramchandra's obelisks have been translated by Dr J P Vogel, the archaeologist I have added a translation of fol. 83 and 84a on the Bedaulat caves Both are intended for *The Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Lahore

Finally, some passages were communicated to Mr E D MacLagan, in illustration of *Fray Manrique's Travels in the Panjab* Cf *ibid*, Nos 1, 2

I refrain from analysing here more fully the contents of the MS. Suffice it to say that Monserrate's account of the Kābul campaign (1581-82), about which the Muhammadan historians teach us very little (Cf ELLIOT, *Hist. of India*, Vol V, *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, pp 421—427), occupies fully a hundred pages (fol 39b to fol 92a). And, since the subject continually crops up, I may as well announce that no revelations are to be expected about John Philip de Bourbon, or Akbar's Christian wife. Monserrate's silence in the latter instance is all the more insignificant, as he labours to explain Akbar's leanings towards Christianity from the fact that some of his remote ancestors had been Christians. Akbar appears indeed to have had a Christian wife, but this must have been later. As for the appellation of *Bībī Mariām kī kothī* at Fatehpūr, the reader will discover in this book (fol 35b 3—fol 37a 2) good reasons to believe it commemorates to this day the house and domestic (?) chapel which Bl R Aquaviva and his companions had close to the Emperor's lodgings. Monserrate states that the Fathers had only to cross a door to be within the Emperor's quarters. This is true of Bībī Mariām's *kothī*. Hence, the name would commemorate the fact that it contained the picture of Our Lady, "Bībī Mariām," which Akbar came repeatedly to venerate in 1580. Close to Bībī Mariām's *kothī*, there is a small separate building with a gable roof, the only one of its kind at Fatehpur. I failed to notice it on my visit to the place in December 1912, but, Father Felix, O C, of Maryābād, Gujranwālā Dt, Panjab, showed me a photograph of it. It looks altogether like a European construction, and would have answered the purposes of a chapel for the few European and Armenian Catholics then at Fatehpur. A small line of low penthouses, within the courtyard of Bībī Mariām's house and built against the outer wall of the Emperor's quarters, might have contained the Fathers' kitchen. Local tradition still connects it with a kitchen.

A word or two in explanation of the editing of the text.

I have removed nearly all the abbreviations, but have imitated the spelling as closely as possible. Earlier versions of the text appear as foot-notes. In the main, the old-fashioned but systematic punctuation has been preserved. My reason for doing so was that I did not wish to obtrude any personal interpretation of the text in the case of the more difficult passages. I have, however, in many cases used full stops and capitals where the original did not. Lastly, as the text runs on without a break, I have paragraphed it to make the reading more easy and agreeable, and enable the reader to find more readily what he is in search of. With the same purpose in view, I have introduced marginally directions as to the contents. In doing so, I have adopted for proper names and place-names the orthography of the new *Imperial Gazetteer*, 26 vols. Names not identified have a mark of interrogation. Any remarks within [] are mine.

Finally, let me record my obligations for valuable suggestions to Revv FF F Opdebeeck, S J, Paul Lefebvre, S J, and C Martindale, S J.

St Xavier's College, Calcutta.

COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM¹

Calchiorum authorum nomina quibus dictorum fidem substituimus

Biblia Sacra

Biblorum interpres

Josephus Antiquitatum Judaicarum et belli Judaici scriptor

D Hieronymus in locis Heb — Trogus Pompeius

Ptholomæus Geographiae author

Strabo, Plinius, Apollodorus, Solinus, Lucanus poeta

Raph Volaterranus Anthonius Coccus Sabellicus

Æneas Sylvius qui postea Pius 2^{us} Papa, de 2^a Asiæ parte

Diodorus Siculus Paulus Jovius, Episcopus Nucerinus, in Elogijs et Commentarijs
Turcicarum rerum

D Anthonius Florentiæ Archiepiscopus in 3^a parte Summæ Historiarum

Speculum historiarum Vincentij

Joannes Barrus Lusitanus in Asia Decade 2^a *

Inferioris notæ

Petrus Mexia in Sylva variae lectionis qui res Temuri decerpsit ex Baptista
Egnatij, Collectaneis Fulgosi, parte 2^a Geog Pij 2ⁱ, Platina in Vita Bonifacij
9ⁱ, Matheo Palmerio in Addit Chron, Cambino Florentino in Hist Turc
Rodericus Gonsalvus e Clavigijs in diurnorum itinerum ad Temurum descrip-
tione

In pondere, numero, et mensura

¹ MS note ² Pencil note by anonymous annotator Lib II Cap XLVII, in the margin opposite.

F 1a

P CLAUDIO AQUAUIUA TOTIUS SOCIETATIS
JESU PRÆPOSITO,
ANTONIUS MONSERRATUS EIUSDEM SOCIETATIS
SACERDOS
S P D.

Ea fuit priscorum hominum diligentia ut, dum iter agerent, omnia quæ vnius cuiusque diei euentus attulisset diligentissime in aduersaria referrent. Cuius rei curam Alexander Macedo Eratostheni dedit, cum Asiaticam expeditionem instituit, *Antiochus autem Nicator, Seleuci Nicatoris filius, Artemidoro¹. At Iulius Cæsar eum laborem ipsemet subiit, et bellorum quæ gessit commentarios conscripsit. *hoc ipsum Persiæ reges, ut in Esdra habetur factitarunt, nam qui ab accidentibus appellabantur, et scribere accidentia dicebantur regum imperio nihil quod accideret, præteribant, quin litteris commendarent¹. Quorum diligentiam plerique postea tum terra tum etiam mari imitati sunt, qui Geographiæ, Nauticæ, et Historiæ optimis studiis dediti, literariæ Republicæ non mediocri accessione, penu cumularunt.

Ac cum in Societate Iesu, hac et alijs de caussis, ut omnia quæ eueniunt perscribantur jam inde a felici Ignatii patris nostri memoria, qui primus ut ita fieret edixit, in mores inductum sit ne ab optimo instituto religiosus uir Rodericus Vincentius Societatis in Indiæ prouincia præpositus discederet, quo tempore ad Zelaldinum Equebârem Mongolorum Regem proficiscebamur, mihi curam imposuit, ut singula quæ cum in itinere, tum etiam dum cum Rege uersaremur acciderent scriptis mandarem. Cui cum ad amussim parere ex meæ uitæ ratione et Societatis instituto deberem, ad eius me imperium ita comparauit, ut singulis diebus noctu biennium integrum cum dimidiato quicquid eius diei tulisset euentus litteris committerem. Quo singula perscribendi quotidiano || labore, quicquid iter ac tempus uarium dederunt, complexus sum.

Ea uero sunt flumina, urbes, regiones,² hominum mores, templa, religiones. Ac posteaquam ad Regem uentum est, eius *quam præferebat³ erga Christi religionem *simulata quidem⁴ pietas. Erga Rodolfum, cui data erat grauissimi eius negotij prouincia, et erga eius socios *ambitiosa fucataque⁵ beneuolentia. Tum ipsius Rodolfi

¹ Later addition — The remarks at foot apply to the text between the * and the figure

² Pencil-note by X, i.e., the anonymous annotator. The date is wrong

³ Deleted after "regiones" agrorum amœnitates.

⁴ Later addition

Esdræ 3
Cap 21

A S H
1582²

F 1b

ardor, multa cum prudentia scientiaque coniunctus Ad hæc, disceptationes cum Agarenis pro Christiana religione Bellum Chabulicum quod¹ magna cum animi constantia et miro consilio,² Hachimo³ fugato Zelaldinus confecit ac denique ipsius ouatio et triumphus

Quæ omnia cum adhuc rudia et inchoata, ita uti cursim exceperam, post reditum, uiris quibusdam e nostra Societate ætatis, prudentiæ et omnis *literaturæ⁴ laude præstantibus perlegissem, non paucis ac uulgaribus uerbis me uti uia et ordine quæ potiora iudicarem exscriberem sunt adhortati Quorum præstans iudicium ac sententiam cum alijs in rebus maioris momenti sequi, iam antea consuevissem, nolui committere ut ab eis ea in re discederem quæ ad tuam tandem trutinam referenda et ex tua grauissima censura aut admittenda aut reiicienda esset

Et iam octauus agitur annus cum operi manus admouere cœpi Sexto vero ab inchoato opere anno,⁵ me ad Æthiopiam a Petro Martino Indiæ prouinciæ præposito missum* in scribendi studio atque opera cessare⁶ tempestiuum ad nauigandum mare coegit Nec antea tempus et locum redeundi ad opus nactus sum, quam mihi ab hostibus Agarenis ad Dofárem Arabiæ (ea est Sabæa) iuxta Atramitem (ubi thus legitur) urbem capto, et Eynanum transmisso Rex Ommaris Agarénus paruam ac tenuem supellectilem ac libros saluos esse et reddi et me in liberali custodia esse permisit Nam datum est mihi quattuor mensium otium quo scripta corrigere et quæ *desiderabantur adijcere potui Nilul enim, *singulari Dei beneficio,⁷ seruilis acerbitatis aliud *corpore perferebam, *quam ergastulum⁸ Erat enim mihi solatio in primis sodalis meus Petrus *Paesius⁹ sacerdos *propter exomologesim,¹⁰ deinde sacri libri, atque ad nocturnas et diurnas preces recitandas persoluendasque sacrorum *epitome¹¹ At uero, posteaquam illud quattuor mensium spatium exegi, arma litteraria ponere iterum compulsus sum Indicta est enim mihi profectio Sánaam, ubi Turcicus pro Rege *præses¹² degit Verum cum ille qui genere *erat Epirota¹³ (Arnautem uulgo *Turcarum a principe eius gentis urbe, nostratium Allanesium¹⁴ dicit) eadem comitate me tractare dissimulasset, et libros mihi dari iussisset, ad institutum laborem redij et purgatum auctumque opus lituris uindicavi

Quod an ex ratione et more Societatis scriptum sit et an aliquid emolumenti legentibus sit allaturum tuum erit iudicium Equidem, nisi mihi ἡ φιλανθρία¹⁵ palpum

¹ Deleted after "quod" ist pro Mahommedica superstitione contra Christi fidem a Mahommede principe fratre illatum ^{2ndly} pro Mahometica superstitione contra Christi fidem ab Hachimo principe fratre illatum

ist eo

⁴ Later marginal note by M literatura simplex t

⁴ Marginal pencil note by X A 1582+6=1588

⁶ ist scribendo manum reterre

⁶ ist desiderabantur M added later marginally desidero i latinum non uero grecum γ

⁷ ist Dei erga me magno beneficio

⁸ Later addition

⁹ ist quum sacrosancto sacrificio minime potiri, et sacris alijs sacerdotij functionibus non perfungi

¹⁰ ist Pelagij,—2ndly 3Paesius

¹¹ ist breuiarium

¹² ist Pretor

¹³ ist est Panno

obtrudat, et imponat opinor non futurum inutile Geographiæ et Antiquitatis studio-
sis, nostris præcipue qui humanorum litterarum authores uersant, si *in rerum
Indicarum historiam deueniant ¹

Enimuero quæ ad nostrorum Sacerdotum profectionem, et apud regem moram, et
belli Chabulici exitum spectant, bona fide ita perscripsi uti res habuit ac ego ipse
oculis perspexi Quod uero attinet ad illa quæ ueluti assumpta et aduentitia extra
institutæ narrationis ordinem de Cinguiscono, Temurbégo, de Scythis Mongolisque
ad huius primi libri calcem adieci, ea ab ipso in primis Zelaldino Rege, deinde a
quadam diurnorum itinerum descriptionis ephemeride *quam Henrici quarti Castellæ
Regis apud Temurum legatus quidam confecit, ² postremo a scriptoribus quamplu-
rimis quarum est authoritas non uulgaris accepi ³ Tandem opus in duos libros
distribui, quorum hic prior primæ ad Mongolorum regem profectionis esset commen-
tarius, *alter ⁴ ipsius quasi appendix et σελων, in quem ea contuli quæ ad situm
et historiam naturalium rerum Indiæ intra Gangem ac priscorum ab-*[originum et
indigetum] ⁵ hominum pertinent qui memoria nostra in ea *[degunt] ⁶

F 2b

*Duobus reliquis libris quos prioribus adiunxi eodem ordine profectionem in
Æthiopiam priore, altero Arabiæ situs et rerum naturalium epitomen conscripsi ⁶
qua una et eadem opera non pauca Geographorum et Historicorum loca, qui res
Indicas *et Arabicas ⁷ tractant, (quod sit absque arrogantia dictum) in nostrarum
scholarum moderatorum gratiam quam modeste ac temperanter potui castigare,
elucidare et conciliare contendere Utinam cum ea diuini nominis laude et animorum
utilitate quam par est non solum animo cupere sed etiam omnibus uiribus uestigare
Quæ duo si utrumque opus tuo grauissimo iudicio præ se ferre uideatur, satis super-
que tibi esse commendatum duco Vale

*Sanae ⁸ septimo Idus Januarij anni Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo
primo 7^{to} Janu
arii 1591 ⁹

¹ Ist in res Indicas deueniant

² Later addition

³ Some words erased here and not decipherable

⁴ Ist alius

⁵ Portions cut off from the margin and restored—This paragraph from "Quod uero attinet" ran at first thus

Quod uero attinet ad illa quæ ueluti parergon de Cinguiscono, Temurbego, et Scythis Mongolisque in Zelaldino gratiam ad operis calcem adieci, ea ab ipso in primis Zelaldino Rege, deinde a quadam diurnorum itinerum descriptione quam Henrici quarti Castellæ Regis apud Temurum legatus quidam confecit, tum ab Strabone, Q Curtio, Plinio, Ptolomæo, Diodoro, Justino, Sabellico, Antonino Florentino, Pro secundo et Paulo Iouio Nucerino quorum est authoritas non uulgaris accepi Tandem Sanae operi finem imposui et alium librum [ist aliud opusculum quasi appendiculam et scholium] adieci in quod ea contuli quæ ad naturalium rerum et priscorum aboriginum et indigetum morumque ipsorum (qui cum huius ætatis indigenarum moribus conueniunt) historiam pertinent

⁶ Later addition—Before the * X wrote in pencil Æthiopica & Arabica

⁷ Later addition

⁸ Ist Senaa.

⁹ Pencil note by X

NOVINA, LONGITUDINES ET LATITUDINES INSIGNIORUM URBUM, OPPIDORUM, FLUMINUM, MONTIUM ET REGIONUM, QUÆ NOSTRIS SACERDOTIBUS AD EQUEBAREM MONGOIORUM REGEM EUNTIBUS AB URBE GOA AD URBEM NICOPOLIM (FATTEPUR), DEINDE NICOPOLI CHABULUM PROFICISCENTIBUS OCCURRERUNT

	Long		Lat			Long		Lat	
	G	M	G	M		G	M	G	M
Goa	109	30	15	30	Couleca	109	53½	20	26½
Neul	109	15	18	40	Paharnera (<i>Moni idoli</i>)	110	7½	20	26½
Carania	109	15	18	50	Balsar (<i>Bucephala</i>)	109	58	20	39
Taná (<i>Tanis</i>) in insula Salseti	109	20	19		Gandui (<i>Pulipula</i>)	110		20	45
					Nausari (<i>Nusaripa</i>)	110	3	20	58
Bassayn	109	21	19	20	Beará	110	50	21	7½
Daanu	109	35	19	50	Surate (<i>Comanes</i>) ²	110	15	21	20
Daman	109	41	20	19	Varque Sarai (<i>Vici</i>				
Cossumba	110	30	21	30	<i>diuersorium</i>)	118		26	23
Vasaraí	110	45	21	30	Goaher	118		26	42
Dayta	111	45	21	30	Commara	117	30	26	50
Cucuramunda	112	7½	21	45	Daulpur (<i>Alba urbs</i>)	117		26	53½
Peaz (<i>Cepc</i>)	112	20	21	45	Fattepur (<i>Nicea</i> , i e ,				
Talanda	112	7½	22		<i>Nicopolis ab Equebárc</i>				
Sultanpur (<i>Basilipolis</i>)	112	30	22		<i>condita anno 1571</i>)	116	30	27	
Cradhá	113		21	45	Agara metro[polis]	117		27	19
Chittuara (<i>Pantheroncus</i>)	113	19	21	45	Bal (<i>Bos</i>)	116	21	27	30
Brandpur	113	40	21	20	Matura	116	2	27	30
Rha (<i>Via</i>)	112	43	22	2	Anumanth (<i>Stimorum</i>				
Auazu Metro[polis]	113	2	22	10	<i>fanum</i>)	116	12	27	43
Cendua	113	45	22	6½	Delnum Christianorum				
Bamanque gam (<i>Bragma-</i>					<i>olim metropolis</i>	115	58	28	38
<i>narum oppidum</i>)	113	45	22	20	Sonipát	116	15	28	45
Surana	114	7½	22	20	Panipat	116	40	29	10
Mandhoum metro[polis]					Carnar	116	50	29	19
Maluanorum	115	1	22	30	Tanissar ⁸	116	50	29	43
Dectan	115	30	22	40	Bad (<i>malum</i>) ⁵	116	50	29	53½
Usen (<i>Uscna</i>)	116	15	23		Gagaque Sarai (<i>Gcgæ</i>				
Sannarea	116	47	23	20	<i>diuersorium</i>)	116	38	30	15
Sarangpur (<i>Naucleropolis</i>)	117		23	20	Satcombe ⁴	118	30	30	15
Berzea	117	54	23	20	Sarind (<i>Imes Indiæ</i> , i e ,				
Pimpildar	118	7½	23	30	<i>caput</i>)	116	20	30	23
Siurange	118	7½	23	58	Pael	115	38	30	33½
Saddoá	118	7½	24	30	Machuará (<i>Vicus pris-</i>				
Coylarazus	118	7½	25	5	<i>cium</i>)	115	50	30	44
Cypirinum	118	22	25	40	Sultanpur (<i>Basilæa</i>) ⁸	114	20	30	25
Naroár	118	7½	26	10	Ludianá	115	23	30	23

F 38

¹ Later marginal note by Monserrate.

² Minutes of latitude changed in pencil to 10' by X

³ X writes 'Right' near these places

⁴ "The distance to Satcombé was given in common coss to him" X writes marginally in pencil

F 3b Col 1	Long		Lat		<i>Capita seu fontes quorundam fluminum qui [sic] in sinum Barigazenum effluunt</i>	F 3b Col 2	
	G	M	G	M			
Dungari	115	37	31	10			
Gandiuari	113	57	31	7 ¹			
Gouindiuari	114	10	30	40			
Cancarque gam	118	42	31	15	Taphi	113	16
Pachangari ¹	116	2	31	30	Naruada	118	40
Calanur ²	115	41	31	39	Machipara	118	45
Pargana Peytan	117	9	31	39	Paharbatu	118	45
Lahor metro[polis]	113	59	31	39			
Nagarcott	116		31	53 ¹			
Xergar (<i>domus lionis</i>)	114	21	31	57	Jamona	118	30
Xunigacarque Sarai	114	57	32	3 ¹			
Samba	116	19	32	19			
Qhunya (<i>ager sanguinis</i>)	115	27 ¹	32	20	Chambal	116	27
Saddari ⁵	115	20	32	23	Ambala	118	30
Mancot ⁴	117	30	32	26 ¹	Satanulge	119	31
Jamudib	116	6	32	40	Bea	117	20
Ruytas ⁶	114	59	33	15	Raoy	116	7 ¹
Obeliscus Rhamchandi	114	1	33	23	Cingaro	116	7 ¹
Rhauadum	114	0	33	40	Nani	116	57
Gagar ⁶	113	39	33	39	Nenao	116	20
Nilabh	112	30	33	40	Behet	117	30
Azara	112	30	33	57	Ind	119	15
2 Saygi	111	40	33	57			
1 Oppidum rivæ	111	23 ¹	33	57			
3 Piraur	111	20	34				
Caybari gatte	110	59	34	15			
Caybar	110	43	34	20			
Bixaur	110	23 ¹	34	30			
Gelalabad	110		34	40			
Sanghe cephet	109	45	35				
Albaric	109	20	35	30			
Chabul metropolis	108	50	36				

*In Gangem**In Indum**Communiones*

Jomanis et Gangis

*Divertigia**Ostia*

F 4a Col 1	Divertigia		Ostia		F 4a Col 2
Jomanis ad urbem Del- num	116	2	28	38	

¹ Lat 31° 40' [X]² 'Right, I think' [X]³ Lat 32° 33' [X]⁴ Long 116° 30' [X]⁵ Lat 31° 10' [X]⁶ Later marginal note by Monserrate. A situ Gagaris oritur discrimen in descriptionibus quapropter ex duorum itinerum descriptione emendandæ sunt ut proxime ad illam mutui distantie et vic ductus depingantur Chabulum u que⁷ Later note by Monserrate⁸ This column was erased by Monserrate up to Ad Surate

[illegible]

1 Correct to: impendent

duertunt

exporrigunt .

figunt.

² Cf map at the end and App C.

The loss of fol 5 can be remedied in various ways —

1 The index to Monserrate's *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius* contains the following entries —

Zelaldinus, magnus Mongolorum Rex, 5a 2
Antonius Cabrialus ad Equebarem legatus, 5a 3
Antonius Noronius, Indiae pro Rege praeses, 5a 3
Lusitanorum constantiam Zelaldinus periclitatur, 5a 4
Lusitanorum uirtus et fortitudo, 5b 1
Petrus Tauarius, patritius Lusitanus, 5b 3
Sacerdotes Societatis Jesu duo in Gangaride, 5b 4
Ismael Culicanus, 5b 4
Egidius Joannides Gangaridis Archimystes, 5b 4

2 Cf Monserrate's *Relaçam do Equebar, Rei dos Mogoes* Appendix B

3 Cf J B PERUSCHI, S J, *Informatione del Regno e Stato del gran Re di Mogor*, Brescia, P M Marchetti, 1597

This is based for the greater part on No 2

4 Cf D BARTOLI, S J, *Delle opere del Padre Damello Bartoli* Vol XXXVIII *Delle Memorie Istoriche, Libro quarto*, Torino, Marietti, 1847. C XXIV, pp 347-355

5 Cf DANIEL BARTOLI, S J, *Missione al Gran Mogor del Padre Radolfo Aquaviva* Roma, MDCCXIV, pp 7-14

[p 7] "There at Fatipùr, a town and Court built by himself, Achabàr often conversed with a certain Portuguese called Pietro Tavàres, a clever man, the Captain of a harbour in Bengala, who served him in the military profession. The King would sometimes discuss with him jestingly and mockingly about the Moorish religion which he [Akbar] professed, not that he discovered any truth in the Alcoran, but solely because, [8] being born and bred in that religion, his only reason for not abandoning it was that he did not know what other religion to embrace. If the disputations of his Mulas did not satisfy him, those of the Bramans, satisfied him still less. Once, in one of these conversations, he asked Tavàres what was the value and truth of the scriptures of the Christians, and how far their doctors could defend them. Tavàres started speaking, to the best of his knowledge, about the Old and the New Testament, and about the Fathers of the Society. He said what he thought would give a good opinion of their life, and added in praise of their talents that, if His Majesty were pleased to call from India some two of them, he hoped they would in a few days bring him to a knowledge of the truth, whereas he was losing his time in trying to discover it in the disputations of the Mulas and the Bramans. And as for the Fathers, he [Akbar] had come to esteem them those last three years as men of great integrity of life. This, because two of them, having come to preach in his dominions in Bengala, and finding that the Christians there defrauded his Royal Exchequer of the taxes they rightfully owed for anchorage, and of the annual imposts agreed upon between them, obliged them to make restitution. A large sum was thus recovered, and the King, wise as he was, on hearing of it

pinch of extreme poverty, he provided him liberally with the means of subsistence, and made him resume the dress and profession of a Christian. He kept a devout image of the Queen of Heaven with the Infant Jesus in her arms, and bowed to it and worshipped it before the Barons of his Court. A coarse and impious Mulasso, who had dared to blaspheme the perpetual [12] virginity of Mary, had been banished from the Court, and had been within an ace of having not only his tongue pulled out, but his throat cut. Finally, he had not unfrequently said that he wished to erect for the Fathers, either in Agrà or in Lahòr, or in his own city of Fatipùr, a church which would eclipse in size and magnificence our St Paul's at Goa. In addition to those more proximate dispositions preparing him to receive from God the light of Faith and the grace of salvation, Achabar possessed other excellent natural qualities: a keen intellect, earnestness in searching after the truth, sagacity in discerning falsehood, and those moral virtues which every Christian ought to pride on. He had a tender love for the poor, and did good to whoever had recourse to him. He was upright and impartial in the administration of justice, and when he wanted, he was so terrible that a mere glance of his eye lighting on any one meant for his attendants that they must cut him down. Withal, he was so circumspect and slow in dealing with criminals, that the death sentence was not executed against any condemned person, until his royal "Maître des requêtes" had asked his leave three times the same day. A great admirer of all noble virtues, he was ready to honour with dignities and wealth, and admit to his familiarity and intimacy, any man, [13] even of the lowest pedigree, who possessed in a more than ordinary degree accomplishments for peace or war. Still, in this he took the useful precaution that those whom he raised to such eminence should have no cause for pride, as is but too often the case with such as rise from a low degree to high estate. For this, he ordained that, whatever the dignity to which any of them had been raised, some instrument of his former office should be carried before him in public. There was one distinguished for his valour, but, as he was born a poor labourer, a squire was always carrying before him on top of a lance a golden hoe, both to recall him to a sense of modesty at the thought of his humble extraction, and of gratitude for one who, in his case, had changed a peasant's hoe into a general's staff, and from a rustic had set him in command.¹ These, with not a few others of the same kind, were the worthy considerations then made in praise of Achabàr.

"The Ambassador, conducted from the S Iago, which lay two or three nautical miles off Goa, made his solemn entrance, the whole of the Portuguese nobility welcoming him. A part of them met him as he alighted on the shore, the rest expected him at the palace. [14] A great train of cavaliers then accompanied him to our College of St Paul, where he presented to the Provincial the letters of his King with the amplest patents, so that, from their first entrance into the states of his Crown up to their arrival at his Court of Fatipùr, the Fathers who were to be sent might be received, provided for and, if need be, protected, as persons

¹ Qasim Khān, Albar's chief engineer, is meant. Cf *J A S B*, 1912, p. 201 n. 4.

belonging to His Majesty's own household, by the Viceroys and the Governors of the Provinces through which they would pass. This done, he betook himself to the Church, and, on entering, before the threshold, he and those of his suite, Maomettans like himself, removed their footgear, as they are wont to do on entering their mosques. After this token of humble reverence he proceeded to the tomb of the Apostle St. Francis Xavier. He then exposed through Perez, the interpreter, the object of the embassy and handed the King's request. The letters, translated into our tongue, run exactly thus:—

[*Follows the translation of Akbar's well-known letter, and some particulars on the preparations for the Mission.* Cf. pp. 15-16.]

6. Cf. FRANCIS DE SOUSA, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisboa, MDCCX, Vol. II, C. I, D. II ss. 13-18, 53-61.

We extract the following:—

[146] 'Tquchar, the great Emperor of the Mogols,' wrote this year to the Viceroy of India, to the Archbishop Primate, and to the Father Provincial Ruy Vicente asking two Religious of the Society for the sake of explaining to him the Faith of the Gospel and the Law of Christ. His letter to the Provincial ran thus:— "For Father Provincial in the name of God. Forman of Zalaldin Muhammed Tquchar Xa, by God's hand appointed. Let the chief Fathers of the Order of St. Paul know that I am their great friend. I send thither Ebadola, my Ambassador, and Domingos Pires, to ask for two learned Fathers, and let the Fathers bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, that I may learn the Law and its perfection for I wish to be acquainted with the Law of Jesus the Nazarene. And I ask earnestly that, as soon as the same Ambassadors have arrived there they should not fail to come with them and to bring at the same time the books of the Law. Let them know that I shall receive with all possible honour the Fathers who will come, and when I shall be informed of the Law and its perfection, as I wish they will be free to return whenever they like, and I shall send them back with many honours and favours. And let them not fear at all to come, for I take them under my protection. Written in December of the year fifteen hundred and seventy eight. * * The Ambassador was received at Goa with the pomp and magnificence becoming the King who sent him and the hope which his mission gave rise to. The Fathers received him with many marks [147] of affection and kindness. He brought two mules for the Fathers, and instructions for all the Governors of the lands through which they should pass to give them whatever would be necessary, and an escort of soldiers for their safety. The Emperor sent also a large alms for the Misericordia of Goa, and a large quantity of porcelain and plates, to feed the poor out of

[*Follows an account of the extent of Akbar's dominions and of his genealogy.*]

¹ de Sousa notes that the word is properly *Mongals*—not Mogols, as we say—and still less Mogors, as the Portuguese commonly say. Cf. *ibid.* p. 118.

The letter was dated December 1578, but the Ambassador reached only in September 1579.

44 [148] The occasion which the Mogol had for calling the Fathers, was the following — Though King Equebar was a Moor by profession, as all the Mogols are, the sect of Muhammad (*Mafamede*) did not satisfy him, and he felt inclined towards the Law of Christ on account of the information given him by some Portuguese, he revered the cross and sacred images, especially those of Christ Our Lord and of His holy Mother, and so did many grandees of his Court. Once he asked a renegade Christian what miracles he had seen Muhammad perform that he should have become a Moor, and he ordered him to take off his turban and live like a Christian. That he might have a living, he gave him an honourable position. He banished from the Court a certain Caciz who thought ill of the purity of the Queen of Angels. These good dispositions of Equebar were greatly increased by the action of two Fathers of the Society, who had gone on a mission to Bengala. Adopting the safer and more probable opinion, where perchance the contrary opinion is probable, they refused absolution to the Christian merchants who did not pay the taxes justly due to the Mogol. Fr Antonio Vaz, one of the two Missionaries, sought to exonerate the consciences of the Portuguese in the matter of these restitutions. Through Pero Tavares he obtained from the King a deed condoning to our merchants all the taxes of which they had defrauded the exchequer up to the present year 1579, and he wrote to this effect to the Viceroy of India. It was a case for applying our proverb

Moor, what thou hast not rightly got,
Do give it us for love of God

From the uprightness of the two Missionaries in Bengala, and the petition of Pero Tavares, his favourite, the King concluded to the purity and truth of the Law of Christ, and, wishing to be more fully instructed in it, he summoned a virtuous priest called Gileanes Pereyra, to know from him what he had still to learn. Pereyra possessed more virtue than letters, hence, after answering what he knew, he said to the King that he was a dunce compared with the men of letters to be found in Goa, and that His Majesty might call for some to be fully informed of all the mysteries of the Gospel. And as [149] the fame of the Fathers of St Paul was flying on broad wings all over Industan, this was the reason why we were chosen to go to Equebar. We speak the truth, and do not boast of the choice. Some suspected, with much foundation, that Equebar's wish was to make a compromise between Christ and Muhammad, to devise a new law,—a compromise between the falsehoods of the Alcoran and the truths of the Gospel,—and thus obtain from the world the title of Lawgiver, that for this he sought the aid of the Fathers, just as Muhammad helped himself with the Monk Sergius, a Nestorian heretic. But if such was the King's intention, he did not choose the right secretaries.

45 When the Ambassador's proposal was known, great difficulties came in the way of the Fathers' going. The Count Viceroy, who had much experience of India, was of opinion that the Fathers should not go to the Mogol. He feared that Equebar sought to keep them as hostages, and thus oblige the Captains of Damaõ, Dio, and of the armadas of the North to overlook his encroachments

(*desordems*) Fr Ruy Vicente, the Provincial, on the contrary, asked with much insistence leave for sending the Fathers From the information he had received such apprehensions were baseless, whilst there appeared solid hope of greater conquests to the Faith and of advantages to the State The Viceroy entrusted the matter to the Archbishop, D Henrique de Tavora, and asked him conjointly with D Frey Matheos, Bishop of Cochim, D Frey Leonardo de Sà, Bishop of China, and D João Ribeyro Gayo, Bishop of Malaca, then at Goa, to decide what would be of greater service to God our Lord After discussing the matter, and weighing the reasons for and against, the Illustrissime Prelates answered His Excellency as follows —

Resolution of the Prelates of India concerning the Mission to the Mogol

Answering to what I, Archbishop of Goa, and the Reverendissime Lord Bishops of Cochim, Malaca and China, and the Licentiate Andre Fernandes, our Provisor, have been asked by the Senhor Count Viceroy, whether we should let go, without asking securities from the Court of the Mogol, the Religious of the Company of Jesus, whom King Equebar invites through the formans (*formoẽs*) of his Ambassador and considering the weightiness of the matter, which, if it succeeds, imports for the conversion of so many souls considering also the earnestness with which the King asks for the said Fathers, and for the Gospel of Christ our Redeemer, whose name he pronounces, touched it would seem by divine grace, since, [150] as St Paul says, no man can say or name the Lord Jesus but by the grace of the Holy Ghost considering with what freedom, danger and courage the servants of God preached the Gospel, even to enduring a glorious martyrdom, and that it would be a scandal to the infidels, if the said Fathers did not go in answer to such an invitation, it seems good to me and to the said Lord Bishops, and to the said Provisor that His Excellency should send the said Fathers and let them go with the same Ambassador, who came to fetch them, without other securities than those of Divine Providence, though not without the greatest favours and credit possible, trusting in Our Lord and His divine power and goodness, for whose honour and glory the said Fathers are going, that He will guard them from dangers, help them in so holy an enterprise, and bring about the conversion of so powerful a King, who, should he become a Christian and embrace our Law with his peoples, will be to the Church of God in Asia another Constantine, for the total ruin of the sect of Muhammad, just as Europe had for the extirpation of idolatry and the spread of the Christian Religion And should he have acted from mere curiosity (which we do not deny is possible) as in the time of Archbishop Dom Gaspar, our predecessor of happy memory, was the case with the Idalxâ, who sent to fetch Fathers and books of the law, without any further good result, we must believe, on the strength of his forman and safe-conduct, that he will let them return freely to us in peace and with honours, as he promises Were it artifice and malice, and should he treat the Fathers badly, they will earn everlasting glory and the State will have the right to conquer his ports and seize his ships, in punishment of his having persecuted the Ministers of the Gospel, and broken both

his word and the law of nations And if the said King should hinder the Fathers and not let them come, we judge that the State has, in such a case, no other obligation to effect their freedom than one of charity, if it can easily be done This being the opinion of the said Lords, they have here signed on the tenth of November 1579 Done by Sebastião Coelho, the said Lord Archbishop's servant

46 This answer of the Prelates of India determined Dom Luis de Ataíde to grant to the Father Provincial the permission, so urgently asked, of sending the Fathers to King Equebar For the enterprise were appointed Father Rudolfo Aquaviva, a man of great learning and virtue, Father Antonio de Monserate, a person of singular prudence, and Father Francisco Enriques, born in the East, who, besides being a man of great edification, was well versed in Persian, the language spoken by the chief men of that Court They left our [151] fortress of Damaão on the thirteenth of December of the same year

[*Follows a long account of the journey and a short narrative of the Mission*]

7 Cf *Journ As Soc Beng*, 1896, *Jesuit Mission to the Emperor Akbar*, by E D Maclagan, C S, from notes recorded by the late General R Maclagan, R E, pp 28—113

8 Cf F GOLDIE S J, *The First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*, Dublin, Gill 1896

F 6a. 1 ¹* de, quasi ad tridui moram euocatus, ad regem adire coactus est ² Ad quem cum
 Fr Julian uenisset, ac cum eo de religione ageret, rogaretque Rex, num multi essent, apud nos
 Perelra sacerdotes? dixit, esse quidem multos, et eorum quam plurimos, se multo doctiores
 2 In primis uero, Societatis Sacerdotes commemorauit De quibus jam antea et ab
 Ismaele, et a Tauario audierat Qua de caussa, illos quam celerrime | accersere, apud
 se, statuit, et anno salutis septuagesimo nono, post millesimum, & quingentesimum,
 legatos cum de alijs maximis suis rebus, tum de duobus e Societate Sacerdotibus
 Akbar's obtinendis, ad Indiæ *præsidentem,³ et ad Goanum Archiepiscopum misit Literas uero
 letters to Goa 3 eodem prope exemplo, atque in eandem omnino sententiam, | ad Societatis etiam, in
 ea Prouincia Præpositum dedit, quæ sic habebant

"Mandatum Zelaldini magni,⁴ Regis a Deo constituti Primarij patres ordinis D

Their con- "Pauli, scitote me, uobis esse amicissimum Ego isthuc Ebadullam legatum
 tents 4 "meum, et Dominicum Petrium mitto qui meis uerbis, a uobis | duos Sacerdotes,
 "viros eruditos, ad me mitti exorent, qui præcipuos legis libros, atque Euangelium
 "aduehant, et legem, et quod in ea summum, atque in omni genere perfectum est,
 "addiscam nam eam perdiscere exopto, ac ne cunctentur, cum ijsdem legatis, cum
 F 6b 1 "primum isthuc proficiscentur, venire et simul legis libros afferre || Intelligant
 "vero, me Sacerdotes, qui uenerint humanissime, quoad eius fieri poterit, atque
 "honorificentissime accepturum eorumque aduentum, magnæ mihi uoluptati futu-
 "rum et, ut illa cognouero, quæ cognoscere, de lege, et eius perfectione, atque
 "absolutione cupio illis redire licebit, cum primum libebit Ego uero, plurimis |
 2 "honoribus et muneribus, illos auctos dimittam Nihil uero venire reformident
 "Nam ego in meam fidem, illos accipio Valete "

* Cuius quidem epistolæ fides, etsi Ægidianij, qui cum eo⁵ jam annum cum dimi-
 3 diato uersabatur, | et Tauarij, portus prætoris, epistolarum testimonio statueretur
 Opinions qui bene sperare, de Regis animo, atque videndi Patres studio, iuebant non
 divided mediocrem dubitationem, cum Præsidi, tum etiam Archiepiscopo, ac Præposito
 Prouinciæ, cæterisque omnium ordinum hominibus, attulerunt Quare *Ludou-
 4 cus Athaidius" præses, qui plurimum | consilio, atque prudentia ualebat, ea de
 re, ad Senatum præsulum, qui tum Goæ aderant, et nobilium Lusitanorum, ac
 iurisperitorum referre constituit Dixerunt itaque singuli sententiam, et cum multi,
 in eam orationem ingrederentur, non oportere hominis Agareni, promissis fidem
 haberi quoniam quod referebatur, ad religionem pertinebat, omnium fuit senten-||

¹ Marginal pencil note by X Caret folium 5, ubi relatum fuit quomodo Zelaldinus (i.e., Hacabar) terras Bisanagar, Visapor, et quæcumq; Mogorem Bengalamque interjacent, bello vastarit. Forte juxta Bengalam in Romanos sacerdotes incidit Vide Ant Botellio *De Christiana apud Mogorem religione*, p. 1 Vide Index operis hujus sub voce *Sacerdotes* Suppleri posset ex A Botellio *De Christiana apud Mogorem Religione* incipiente ad calcem Summa memoriarum quæ apud Magni Mogoris uidit, et scheda ⊕ conseq

² This was erased by Monserrate

³ i.e. pretorem

⁴ In the right-hand margin a pencil mark حلال الدين (Jelal o din) nomen quod cum imperio assumpsit كبر Albar [X]

⁵ i.e. Hactenus Zelaldini epistolæ exemplum Cuius quidem fides, etsi sacerdotis illius qui, ab ora Gangetide euocatus, cum eo

⁶ Later addition in the margin Ludouicus Athaidius Atougure dynasta

- F 7a 1 tia, ut Archiepiscopi, et cæterorum præsulum, staretur iudicio Senatū *Henricus
 Decision of the Bishops Tauoræus¹ Archiepiscopus habuit cum præsulibus, *qui senatus una omnium eadem-
 que sententia, Regis postulationi concessit et statuit ut duo,² ad eum, ut flagitabat,
 Societatis Sacerdotes mitterentur Quo patrum decreto, cum nullus præsidī, reli-
 2 quus esset dubitandī | locus, *Rhoterigium Vincentinum, Præpositum Societatis,³ è
 uestigio accersit, eique præsulum sententiam exposuit, et se in eam pedibus ire
 dixit, quod fuit Præposito gratissimum Ille enim, sic erat animo, erga Regis
 postulationem affectus, ut maxime exoptaret, pijs illius (ut uidebantur) uotis satisfieri
 3 Itaque accepta à præside | schedula, qua præsulum consultum continebatur, *postea-
 quam ad eos Sacerdotes retulit, quibuscum consilium capere, ex instituto Societatis
 opus erat,⁴ Rudolfo Aquauuæ, eius protectionis prouinciam *tradidit⁵ Cui postea
 se binos socios adiuncturum significauit *Dicerem, quanta animi, non solum
 4 lætitia, | uerum etiam uoluptate, quasi e cœlo delapsum, hoc oraculum, Rodolfus
 ex ore Præpositi acceperit nisi alio in loco, ejus uirtutes commemorare, in animo
 haberem⁶ At præses, ubi ex Præposito intellexit, Rodolfo, protectionis *onus esse
 F 7b 1 impositum,⁷ || consilium laudauit, illique ad iter commeatum dari iussit *Ac cum
 His depar- ad eum, Rodolfus adijsset, ut ualediceret, ipsum religiosa oratione commonitum
 ture dimisit⁸
- Fr. F At uero Præpositus, iam tempestiuo mari, cum alterum e socijs, qui Persicam
 Henriquez linguam callebat, Rodolfo assignasset, ipse cum eo nauem conscendit, et octauo die
 Chaul Goa | Xeulum uenerunt, inde Damānum, ubi Rodolfo *tertium comitem⁹ assignauit
 Damān 2 Ac cum quatrīduo ibi constitissent,¹⁰ Damano, Rodolfus, et comites profecti sunt
 Fr A *Quos deduxere Præpositus, et alij sacerdotes ac municipes arcis ad miliarium a
 Monserrate 3 Damano, qui a se uicissim | discesserunt, non sine mutui amoris significatione, quem
 utrimque, uis lacrymarum, non obscuris indicijs testata est¹¹ Qui sub noctem, in
 pago quodam (pagus Oroar dicebatur), iuxta utriusque regni fines, constiterunt
 Oroar ? Et insequentī luce Zelaldini regionem ingressi, trans fluum montis Neræ, qui
 Pärnera indigenarum lingua Paharnerà | dicitur, ac fines Lusitanorum et Mongolorum di-
 uidit, Balsarem, (quod oppidum Bucephalam, vel caput bouis, eorum lingua sonat)
 uenerunt biduo Nausarinum, at Suratem tertio a Damano die
 Bulsār Nausarinum caput, et sedes est, quorundam hominum qui se Persas, et Jezénos
 Navsārī uocant, ex Jêze Persiæ ciuitate, || genere Gaberæi, quos Lusitani Cuarínos¹² uocant
 F 8a 1 Hi candidi sunt colore, sed reliqua corporis habitudine, et studiorum, atque
 The Pärsis of Navsārī

1 Later addition in the margin Henricus e Tauora, Indiæ Archiepiscopus

2 1st quorum una fuit atque eadem sententia, ut flagitationi Regis satisfaceret, et duo

3 Later addition in the margin Rodericus Vincentius, Societatis Jesu in India præpositus

4 This was bracketed later, but Monserrate changed his mind and wrote in the margin ysto se ha de escreuer

5 1st demandauit

6 Cancelled later

7 1st curam esse demandatam

8 Cancelled later

9 1st tertium, ueluti auxilium, comitem

10 Erased here ipso Si: Lucræ festo die

11 Cancelled later

12 Query by X Lamas ?

exercitiorum propensione, vestitu, cultuque religionis, Judæis quam simillimi, quo etiam nomine passim a Lusitanis uocitantur, nec ipsi omnino diffitentur Nam, et
 2 sibi genus esse ab Abrahamo concedunt, ob | quam etiam caussam, more Hebræorum
 *maribus¹ summam cutem *circumcidunt² Quoto ab hinc anno, Christus aduenerit,
 ex librorum suorum monumentis, apte subducunt *Eorum nota, quae illis mutuo
 conuenit ut a reliquis gentibus distinguerentur, quasi quodam religionis signo, linthea
 vel gossipina xylinaque uestis est, ad fœmur usque demissa, circum oram consuta,
 3 cui ante | pectus, qua caput inducitur, utrâque extremitas suta nequitur, et sinus
 quidam relinquitur quadratus, latitudine quattuor digitorum, qui rationale illud,
 quod Hebræi Theraphim nominant, videtur referre, in quod inferre quippiam susceptis
 religionibus prohibetur Hanc uestem, laneo cingulo, textili, eoque oblongo, quo
 4 possit sæpius circumducui, | succingunt quem quidem cingulum semper gestare
 religione obstringuntur Si cadauer contingant, inquinantur Mortuos, non educunt
 per uestibulum, et hostium [sic] domus, sed parietem, retro atque a tergo perrumpunt,
 F. 8b 1 eosque non efferunt,³ *in humeros, sed pedibus colligatos, humique stratos et
 resupinos trahunt,⁴ nec igne, nec sepulchro iusta soluunt sed in locum quendam
 demittunt, altis parietibus circumseptum, ne feris sit liber aditus quasi beatus
 sit, a volucris laniari, et comedi, aut solis ardoribus torreretur, quam flammis, aut
 2 iniecta humo *tectos⁵ absumi — | Domi, quicquid aquæ fuit reliquum, effunditur
 ea quibus vita functus utebatur, nulli amplius utilia esse possunt Quæ quidem
 omnia, Judæorum superstitionem, non solum adumbrant, sed exprimunt At hi
 tot religionibus Judæorum impediti, iguem et solem colunt, igni templa extruunt
 3 pontificem, et *fani autistites ac flamines fati consecrant,⁶ | recenti butyro, vel
 optimo atque odorifero oleo, flammam nutriunt Si *compellantur⁷ iure iurando
 aliquid affirmare, nullum est *iustius sacramentum,⁸ quam si succensis prunis,
 urinam instillent quod si facere *recusent,⁹ nulla eis habetur fides Singulis diebus,
 4 *mane, barbare perstrepentes precantur¹⁰ | *Notis¹¹ literarum proprijs utuntur
 Sacrorum suorum arcana, *lingua quam soli periti intelligunt,¹² uno quodam uolumine
 retinent quod tria continet sacrorum religiones, scita legesque maiorum, Mago-
 F. 9a 1 rum augurandi, | et diuinandi scientiam, quod genus sapientum habebatur in

¹ Later addition

² Ist præcidunt

³ Ist Eorum tessera, qua a reliquis gentibus distinguuntur quasi quadam religionis nota, linea vel gausapina vestis est ad femur usque demissa, circumquaque consuta cui ante pectus qua caput inducitur, utrâque ora consuta, et locus quidam relinquitur quadratus qui rationale illud quod Hebræi Theraphim nominant, videtur referre, in quod si quid inferant, religionem violant Hanc uestem, laneo cingulo, textili operis, eoque oblongo, quo possit sæpius circumducui, accingunt quod quidem semper gestare religionibus adiguntur Si cadauer domus, sed prærupto pariete, retrorsum quos non efferunt.

⁴ Ist in feretrum, sed pedibus colligatos, reptando trahunt.

⁵ Later addition.

⁶ Ist sacrificulos consecrant

⁷ Ist adigantur

⁸ Ist sacratius iuramentum

⁹ Ist detrectent

¹⁰ Ist preces, barbare perstrepentes, inane persoluunt.

¹¹ Ist figuris

¹² Ist lingua solis peritis nota

Persis Lacte, butyro, oleo, oleribus, legumine et frugibus uescuntur, a vino se abstinent Uxoribus nuntium remittere, si libet, permittuntur. Adulteris mulierculis nares præscindunt, et meretricium [*sic*] quæstum facere permittunt Porro animis sunt | ita efferatis, ut nihil, a reliqua exlegum turba differre uideantur Nam si quid aduersum, *infensumque¹ illis eueniat, immaniter sibi manus mortemque afferunt Atque horum hi sunt mores²

Sacerdotes, *ibi,³ mensem fere consistere, coguntur Nam legatus nolebat iter antea inire,* quam lunam salutasset,* | eo quod mos sit Agarenis, ut auspicato aliquid aggrediantur, lunam opperiri, ut se post accessum ad solem ostendat, *quo⁵ eam salutent Verum non inutilis, aut ociosa fuit hæc mora Nam dum Agareni cessant, illi Persicæ linguæ diligentem operam dederunt Confluebant vero in eorum hospitium | plurimi, quibus ipsa nouitas cupiditatem iniiciebat, videndi homines, uultu, atque ornatu, sermone, ac religione peregrinos, et hos scientiæ, ac pietatis opinione, ab eo Rege uocatos, quo nullum existimabant esse || potio-rem Quibus illi, effigiem Jesu Christi, et Mariæ Virginis, ostendebant quarum aspectu, ita afficiebantur, ut eas non solum religiose oscularentur, sed etiam capitibus suis sancte imponerent Eo usque omnibus hominibus, a natura inditum est, ut existiment, uenerationem habere iustam, quicquid excellit, quamuis plerumque | in excellentiæ, iudicio *multi⁶ decipiantur aut obstinatione quadam sententiæ, *ne officium et cultum tribuant, audacter et impudenter recusent⁷

Illud uero non modo mirabile sed prodigio simile euenit, cuidam ex *Gabraeorum⁸ genere, quos Judæos, vel Samaritas *opinamur, qui⁹ cum multa in controuersiam uocaret, | dum Rodolfus, scriniolum forte fortuna recludit, in quo Stephanus Protomartyris, et aliorum aliquot Sanctorum reliquæ seruabantur, e uestigio pauefactus, ingenti clamore edito, retrorsum exsiluit, et amenti similis dixit, si hic sunt mortuorum ossa, non possum hic consistere, quin et has, quibus operior | vestes, dirumpam, et dilacerabo Cui Rodolfus pacatissime, æque sapienter, ac Christiane respondit, "Nos ossa mortuorum non circumferimus, sed uiuorum," et scrinium obserauit Ille uero ex metu confirmatus, intermissam controuersiam instaurauit¹⁰ ||

Alluitur Surate, Taphæi flumine, quod se in mari sex miliaribus ab oppido effundit Arce ingenio loci, et operis munitione, ac ducentorum equitum sagittariorum præsidio, instructa, lacuna uero, longe latissima, et operis artificio, omnium quæ in India uisuntur pulcherrima, ornatur Structura enim marmorea, et | quibusdam gradibus atque areis distincta, ducentos pedes lata, magno ambitu oculos

¹ ist aut triste

² The whole of this paragraph was bracketed by Monserrate, with the marginal note at fol 8a 1 "ab hoc loco interserenda alibi"

³ "ubi" in MS, and 1st Surate

⁴ 1st quam lunæ ltasset.

⁵ 1st ut

⁶ Later addition

⁷ 1st impudenter et impie officium et cultum tribuere detrectent.

⁸ 1st eorum.

⁹ 1st opinamur, ac paulo ante commemorauimus, qui

¹⁰ This paragraph is cancelled in the MS, with the note in the beginning "iam sunt descripta."

A month at Surat. Persian studied

F 9b 1 Pictures shown and revered

A Pārsi's scruples

Relics of St Stephen, the Protomartyr

F 10a 1 Surat described Lake

delectat In eius medio, turris pulchre extracta, excitatur, cui nauicula inseruit, cum eo, recreandi animi caussa, *municipes confluunt¹ Sepulchro etiam exornatur Qhojā Sophāris, qui ob suam perfidiam, et perditos mores a nostratibus | scriptoribus sæpenumero commemoratur quod est exoterica quidem structura, sed diligenter, et magna cum operis, et pecuniæ consumptione elaboratum Cui adhærescit, cuiusdam alius nebulonis bustum, Æthiopis genere, religionis Christianæ etiam desertoris, et hostis, qui Qhojā Sopharis primpilus fuit, quem pro sancto contribules, non | alia de caussa colunt, quam quod a Garsia Tauoræ præfecto Damanensis arcis necatus sit a quem mu'ierculæ, coronas, et florum fasciculos, comportant Frequens est in ea mercatorum conuentus, et nauum concursus anne || ab ipsis faucibus, ad urbem ipsam, præalto, ac lato, ad quam est tutus portus²

Cæterum legatus paratis camelis, et alijs vehiculis, quibus commeatus, et merces euherentur, posteaquam lunæ litauit, manum suorum eduxit, et ultra oppidum, ad eius portas, castra fecit Postridie, i e,³ octauo Kal Februarij castra mouit, quod fuit sacerdotibus | iucundissimum, qui superstitionem hanc cunctationem non probabant, et adeundi regem, quem Christiana sacra suscepturum confidebant, incredibili desyderio æstuabant, et miliario confecto, *trans Mophim amnem, est nunc Taphi,⁴ non longe a Rhaenéro castra posuit

Est Rhaenerum, *vulgus Lusitanorum Raynel uocat,⁵ castellum bellica gloria celebre, ex aduerso Surate, | tanquam Abydi, Sestus, positum Cujus municipes, cum Lusitanis, magna cum fortitudinis laude, sæpe, uicti tamen, manus et arma conseruerunt

Ex eo loco, postera die, profectis, in non mediocre discrimen, duo ex socijs, et reliquis Christianorum comitatus, deuenerunt Nam, cum ex Sacerdotibus vnus, qui propter morbum lectica portabatur, | a lecticarijs, qui concitato cursu, studio deponendi sarcinam, iter agunt, longe abstractus esset, et præfecto Suratæ, iuuenum satellitio stipato, occurrisset dum is illum salutatur, et ille pauca interrogat, qui pone veniebant, parum abfuit quin a satellitibus | præfecti, qui præuerant, et exteræ gentis aspectu offensi, hostiliter eos inuaserant, clamantes, "Franci! Franci!" cæderentur Verum aduentante citatis equis et curru, hinc præfecto, illhinc legato, diuino euenit nutu, ut antea turba sedaretur, quam vnus ex Agarenis, a quodam Lusitano confossus, periret qui si perijsset, eius mors exitium nostratibus attulisset |

The orthography of the place names in our marginal index is that of the new Imperial Gazetteer. Places not identified have a ?

¹ 1st municipes frequentissime confluunt

² The whole of this paragraph is bracketed or cancelled. The words cancelled are Sepulchro etiam exornatus fasciculos comportant

³ There is an evident confusion and mixing up of the Old and New Styles in the dates of this itinerary. The New Style came, however, into operation in India only in October 1583. Cf. *Oriente Cons.*, Lisboa edn. II, 184. Even if we suppose with Fr. de Sousa (*ibid.*, II, 152) that the party left Surat on January 15, 1580, O.S. we find that they had reached Sultanpur nine days later, here they rested three days, and, crossing the 'Avaz' or Satpurā Range in four days, arrived at Sindwa (*Cendui*). From Sindwa to Surana near the Narbada there must have been several stages more, yet, it was at Surana, on January 31, that they witnessed the eclipse of the moon. From other accounts we know that the journey from Surat to Fatehpur took 43 days, and that Fatehpur was reached on Feb. 27 or 28, O.S.

⁴ What we represent here and elsewhere by 'i e' is in the MS. represented by 'h' or 'i'

⁵ 1st transmissioque amne.

⁶ Later addition

This paragraph is bracketed in the MS.

⁷ In the margin by M. Isto se ha de escrever daqui pera abayxo ate onde diz Enimvero Auazus. [i.e., f. 11b 1]

3
Tomb of
Khwājā Zā-
far (Coje Zo-
far), † June
24, 1546,
nd of Cide
Meriam. †
1562

F 10b 1

They leave
Surat, Jan
24, 1580 N.S.

2

Rānder

3

Jan 25, 1580

4

Monserrate
III Danger-
ous meeting

F 11a 1

Abdul and
Mirān Sultān
of Surat

- 2 Duo uero Sacerdotes, in periculo constituti, eum qui praeibat, peremptum existima-
runt, quem consequuti, quasi e coelo sibi datum, amplexi sunt ¹
- Jan. 26 Sequenti luce arx occurrit, ex lapidibus delubrorum gentilitiorum, quae Agareni
deiecerunt, extracta Laudandi quidem eo nomine, si non alijs plurimis nominibus,
3 essent execrandi | Ad ripam deinde Táphæi castra posuerunt, quo die gentiles,
Hindū feast Floating lamps on the Tāptl
excauato cucurbitae putamine, injecto oleo, et imposito myxo, atque inflammato,
superioris anni errata expiant, in hunc modum Nudi amnem intrant, capiti suo,
4 lychnum illum inflammatum imponunt, sensim se mergunt, quoad lychnus, a pro-
fluente correptus, abducitur, | qua expiatione, se mundos existimant Vocantur hae
feriae ab illis Satamia eo quod, septimo die lunae undecimi mensis habeantur
*(Is ex eorum instituto est Ianuarius) ²
- Sultānpur Ab ora fluminis profecti, Sultanpurum, quod Basilæpolis redditur, nona die a
F. 11b 1 Surate ventum est, ipsis Agarenicorum sacrificiorum ferijs, quarum || feriarum caussa,
ut legatum praestolarentur, Basilæpoli triduo consederunt *Inde Auazi iugum
Sindwa transuecti, Cenduanum ³ quatrduo uenerunt Enimvero Auazus mons, in longitu-
dinem, uersus mare, ad occidentem solem, millia passuum septuaginta quinque in
Avās Mts [Sātpurā Range] latitudinem uersus aquilonem, sexdecim patet itinere quidem angusto, et difficili,
2 quo | uix singuli camelī ducerentur, et carri humeris hominum sublati, transueherentur
*Nam per loca syluestribus sepibus densa atque aspera iter agebatur ⁴ Inde latrones
Wild moun- talneers
impune hominem, ex legati cohorte, peremerunt Huius montis incolae simulachris de-
seruiunt A tribus regibus, quorum unus est ueluti reliquorum imperator, gubernantur
3 Cum Mongolis | bellum ita gerunt, ut dum una eorum factio, pacto foedere, cum Mon-
golis, conquiescit, reliquae duae factiones, eos crudeli, et exitioso bello conficiant, supe-
riores saepe, communi nonnunquam Marte, nunquam acie sua, a Mongolis profligata
Hos efferatos, et truces homines (cum abiecti sint, agrestes, et barbari, latrocinijs |
4 assueti, rudi armatura, hoc est, arcu arundineo et breuib. sagittis, iisque rubiginosis,
proterui tamen, cupidi, elati, et ad rem plus aequo auidi) nullo equitatu, nullis
tormentis bellicis instructos, ingenium et situs loci plurimum iuuat Plerisque enim
F 12a 1 in locis, occurrunt || syluae et nemores, ac praeruptae rupes, quae loca, praesidijs, et
propugnaculis firmant Hostes uero ex insidijs, et loco uepribus, et dumetis septo un-
dique, et uestito, non aperte, ac palam, eminus adoriuntur *At uero angustissimae
semitae, quibus altissimae rupes impendent, ut facile perpauca, prohibere hostes possint,
efficiunt quorum si incursionem atque impetum excipere nequeant, se in sylvam
2 densam atque asperam abstrudunt ⁵ Eius tractus princeps | ciuitas, in qua ipse im-
perator habitat, sicuti mons ipse, Auazus dicitur, amplissima quidem uallorum ambitu,
Their lair at Avāgarh, or Barwāni
sed tuguriorum humilitate, despiciatissima ⁶

¹ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS, but Monserrate wrote later in the margin (f. 10b. 3) "isto se ha de escreeuer daqui pera abayxo ate onde diz 'Enimvero Auazus'"

² Later addition, and 1st Februanus

³ 1st Inde superato Auazi iugo Cenduanum

⁴ 1st Nemus uero densissimum impendebat.

⁵ 1st aditus uero angustissimi, quibus

prohibere hostes possint. The principal verb was wanting

The correction and addition was made later

⁶ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS from Enimvero Auazus mons

Surana, Jan 31, O S 3
 Eclipse of the moon
 Cæterum Cenduanò, aspero nimium itinere, per montes et conualles, Suránam uentum est Cum Suranæ essent, ea nocte, ad undecimam horam, pridie Kal Februarij, | luna laborauit, qua pius, ac religiosus Lusitanæ Rex Henricus, purpuratus *Pontifex, ut insequenti anno perlatum est, de uita decessit ¹ ²Hinc præcelso ac præpotenti Regi eadem qua natus est dies finem attulit uitæ Ac non pauci prodigio illud astruxerunt quod, qua die in hanc lucem editus est, Ulyssiponensis ager niue candente emicuit Insolitum enim est in eo conuentu ob aeris temperiem nungere Qua uero die uitæ concessit, luna defectum est perpessa Et quod ad vitam ab eo actam attinet, uir sane fuit apprime pius ac religiosus Quid uero lunæ defectus portenderit, Lusitanorum labores et ærumnæ, quæ Henrici mortem sequutæ sunt² [one line cut from near the margin]

Crossing the Narbadā
 4
 Haud ita procul a Surána, Naruada fluuius, qui Amadabæam alluens Barocij exit in mare, occurrit *Hyberno quidem tempore alueo latissimo et profundo aquam profluentem, eamque uberem, usque eo multis locis gerit ut, nisi po[n]te vel nauicula transitus coniungatur, transmissio præcludatur, at uero uado peruius est æstate cum aquæ pluuiæ subsidunt³ Piscosus | est, et liquore adeo pellucenti, ut barbatj, et turtures ac minutissimi calculi numerari possint Ripæ denso scirpo, et salutifera amaraco uestiuntur Annem transgressi, biduo ad amplissimam urbem Mandho uenerunt ||

F 12b 1
 Mādogarh described
 24 Miles of walls
 2
 5 Rows of walls
 3
 History confused
 4
 A recent Muhammadan town
 F 13a 1
 2
 Taken from the Mughals by the Pathāns
 Murorum huius urbis ambitus, et ædificiorum, quæ extant, magnitudo, et eorum quæ ceciderunt ruinæ, indicant, qualis fuerit, dum floreret Muri enim circuitus, etiamnum, ijs locis integri, qui obiecto prærupto saxo non muniuntur, uiginti quattuor fere millia passuum patet Est autem in montis fastigio, *æquo et plano loco | posita,⁴ omni ex parte, altissima conualle, et locis inuijs circumdata Unum tantum habet, ac perangustum aditum, aquatione nunquam carere potest, sunt enim plurimi in ea lacus, et fontes, uberrimæ, et dulcis aquæ, *et iuges putei⁵ Ea parte, qua uia, et aditus est in urbem, sursum uersus in difficili cliuo quinque muri obijciuntur, | ut expugnari nisi media, et fame afflicta vix queat Quam, [licet] Agarenorum incuria, et ingenita barbarie, qui perpauca scriptis posteritatis memoriae, eaque dubia, et incerta atque anilibus fabulis plena, mandant a quo, et quando condita amplissima urbs fuerit, cognoscere certo, nemo queat tamen | structura murorum recentem, et ab Agarenis esse ædificatam, certa coniectura duci possumus Quos fuisse genere Mongolos accepi, ex alia quidem gentilitate, ab hac quæ nostro hoc sæculo, celebri fama | peruagatur Ferunt enim, annis abhinc ducentis, Mongolos, ut nouas sedes quærerent, e suis magalibus, in Indiam excurrisse, et Mandhotum propter loci naturam, qui est ad arcendos hostes accommodatus, tum propter agri, imò uero totius tractus, qui Maluanum dicitur, fertilissimam regionem, consedis-
 Qui | tamen postea, a Patanæis, multis prælijs debilitati, et in unius Mandhoti angustias compulsi, et arctati, septenni tandem obsidione, uicti ac profligati sunt Nam

1 1st Pontifex diem clausit, ut perlatum est

* Later addition. Instead of the missing words, I suggest "satis explicant."

2 1st Hyberno quidem tempore latissimus atque altissimus, æstate uado transitur

4 1st et latissima ac planissima area posita

5 1st puteique lautissimi.

Patanæus rex, qui exercitum ducebat, cum omnia tentasset, et perspectum satis,
 3 exploratumque haberet, nullis machinis, se posse ciuitate | potiri, nisi eam, media,
 fameque fatigatam, *in tantas angustias compelleret, ut se in deditionem redigi
 pateretur,¹ castrorum loco, quæ ad portas prope muros habebat, septa, et propug-
 nacula, ædesque, in quibus milites agerent, *exstrui,² et ciuitatem *institui,³ artifi-
 cibus, fabris, operis, negotiatoribusque accitis,⁴ imperauit Commeatum uero omnem
 4 intercipi, | a suo equitatu, qui uias obsidebant, eamque potissimum, qua retro, atque
 F 13b 1 a tergo urbis, asperum quidem, atque infestum, || quod pedites reptando, uix
 conficiant, iter est, diligenter præcepit Qua potitus eam deiçi, soloque æquari
 iussit Visitur in ea uasti, è ferro, tormenti fragmentum, quod nescio qua supersti-
 tione ducti exleges, oleo munctum, et rubro colore infectum reuerentur, eique cultum,
 2 et uenerationem adhibent | *Post hanc huius urbis perniciem et exitium⁵ perampla
 Basilica, antiquorum regum domicilium, in qua prouinciae *præses⁶ habitat *arx
 munitissima et sepulchrum Regum inchoatum quidem, nullo unquam, ut puto
 tempore absoluendum extant et hoc quidem, fabricæ artificio, et amplitudine
 3 spectandum⁷ Nam ex medio quadratæ aræ, quæ cubitis | quinque, e terra erecta,
 superiore sui parte, octoginta pedes lata, inferiore, fornicibus, et peristylis,⁸ circum-
 quaque cingitur, *camera surgit fastigio globato et rotundo,⁹ lata uiginti, alta pedes
 quadraginta, ad crepidinem, *et altitudine eadem ad fastigium⁹ Ex quattuor
 4 aræ angulis, turres excitantur, septem pauimentis | (quorum singula interualla,
 F 14a 1 cubitis quinque sursum feruntur) et octonis angulis, distinctæ Quibus || fenestræ
 insunt, uersus quattuor uentos, e quibus, more Agarenico, precesiones indicuntur
 Est enim, e regione sepulchri, ædes maxima, simili magnificentia, et apparatione
 Porro in sepulchro, conditi sunt Reges, genere Mongoli tres, et unius eorum institutor
 2 Cæterum singuli tumuli, tesserulis, crustis, | et vermiculato emblemate picti sunt
 Asseruantur etiam, pro tumulis, subsellia deaurata, quibus reges utebantur, quasi
 regiae dignitatis insignibus, ut sunt apud nos, sceptrum, et corona *Extat⁹ etiam
 templum, Christiano more ædificatum inferiore quidem parte, utriusque delubris
 3 fornicatis, ad aras extruendas | ornatum superiore, totidem trichuijs, etiam fornicatis,
 aperto transitu, ex uno, in alterum, usque ad aræ maximæ sacellum Verum illud
 forsan nonnullis incredibile, et falso memoriæ proditum uidebitur sepulchrorum, et
 6 Miles of tumulorum agrum, sex mille passus, extra muros protendi quod, quamvis *hyper-
 bolæ¹⁰ | simile sit haud magnopere quispiam mirabitur, si qua magnificentia, et
 4

1 1st in deditionem compelleret.

2 1st excitari

3 1st adornari

4 Later addition

5 1st prætor

6 1st Arx vero munitissima, sepulchrum vero Regum

absolvendum, fabricæ artificio

spec-

7 1st fornix rotunda surgit.

8 1st cui semi-orbis, eadem latitudine impositus, ipsam claudit.

9 1st visitur

10 1st portenti, 2ndly hyperbato

F 14b 1 sumptu sepulchra || condere soleant Agarem, cognouerit Nam cum sibi persuadeant, omnes quotquot è uita discedunt, diuis cœlitibus, eo solum adscribi, quod Mahameddo nomen dederint, eos, ædificatis accurate sepulchris, ex sua æstimatione, diuo dignis honoribus, prosequuntur Ea sane in re, et quod diuis honores, et uita
2 functis | sepulchra, statui oportere sentiant perditis quibusdam, nostri sæculi, hominibus doctiores, et meliores Mandhoum quidem sic habet ¹

Māchhiwāra Biduo ab hac amplissima urbe, Usenam Machipāræ fluuio vicinam, uenerunt

R
Ujjain * Huius conditor fertur Birbitcremas, quem ut Deum, et omnium fabrilium artium |

3 inuentorem, Gedrosia uniuersa, et circumuicinæ prouinciæ uenerantur, cui superstitioni occasionem præbuit, hominis, ad fabriles artes propensio, et ingenium Nam

Vira Vikra- cum plurimum potentia, et opibus ualeret, erat enim Rex, magnorum, multorumque

māditya 4 operum architectus, sui memoriam, in plerisque | uetustis templorum ædificijs, quæ

F 15a 1 adhuc extant, reliquit Nam cum passim, huiusmodi peruetusta || templa occurrant

si quærat, "Quisnam hoc templum posuit?" respondetur, "Birbitcremas" Si uero architectus, aut faber lignarius rogetur, "Cui tamquam Deo pietatis officium, et cultum tribuis?" respondet, "Birbitcremæ" Cuius quidem ratio construendi,

2 etiamsi a Romanæ fabricæ splendore, multis spatijs superetur, | uia tamen, ac ratione constat, neque est oculis spectantium inuicunda ²

A burial Usenæ cum essent, noctu senem quendam gentiles, * in deos a se relatum, ³ qui

è uita ad inferos discesserat, picto inauratoque feretro impositum, in pompa, tanta

3 religione, ad rogam ferebant, ut è uia, qua erat eundum, minutissimas | paleas, et stipulas amouerent et in acerris, circa feretrum, suffimenta ponerent, et odores incenderent Mirum sane, fucatæ sanctitati, ab impijs non denegari, quod ueræ detrahitur, a malis, Christianæ fidei, desertoribus ⁴

Sārāngpur Usena biduo Sarangpurum, * trans riuium, ⁵ quo ad occidentem solem alluitur, |

4 uenerunt Hic sedes, et domicilium * erat, ⁶ eius qui pro Rege, eum tractum gubernat

F 15b 1 Sarangpuri postea quam || triduo quieuerunt, * trans Paharbatium flumen, post triduum

Pimpaldarum prætergressi sunt, quod solstitiali orbi subest, demde Siurangem,

23° 46' Long perueniunt ⁷

N 77° 43' Lat E Zila

Bhilsā

Sironj Natura soli, et cœli Siurangini, grauis, et pestilens est quo fit, ut plurimas

2 latibulis tectorum producat ac nocte quidem, lectos frequentissimæ nepæ infestant

quæ, si aculeo feriant, tetros cruciatus cient Locis uero palustribus, lacertæ

3 quædam innascuntur, arentibus, atque humidis locis, æque assuetæ, quæ morsu

necant In dumetis, et uepribus, discolor Regulus nascitur qui aspectu | perdit

Is medio corpore, ad caput ruber, ostro elegantior, reliquo uero corpore, crocei

¹ The whole of the description of Mandhu is bracketed in the MS

² This paragraph is bracketed in the MS from Huius conditor fuit (fol 14b 2)

³ 1st diuis a se scriptum

⁴ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS, but Monserrate wrote later in the margin Ysto se hanc de escreuer

⁵ 1st transito riuiulo

⁶ 1st est

⁷ 1st transmissioque Paharbatio flumine, post triduum Pimpaldarum superarunt, quod solstitiali orbi subest, Siurangem postea perueniunt

coloris, qui in fuscum desinit, oculos insipientium, colorum uenustate allicit verum hoc ei à natura, Dei erga homines beneuolentia, inditum est, ut si homo anteuertat |

- 4 eius conspectum *Regulus non sustineat, uti de lupo narratur, sed quam ocyssime
 F 15a 1 *potest, in latebras sese proripiat, et recondat Quod si malo alicuius hominis,
 2 captus ipsius forma, ut cætera id genus animantia, prior oculos, in hominem incautum, et alias res agentem, aliquamdiu defigat, misero homini (si eius regionis hominibus fides habenda est qui hoc ita se habere firmissime asseuerant) omnino e vita migrandum est In hoc discrimen, quidam e Sacerdotibus uenit, qui pulchritudine | bestiolæ inuitatus, fugientem tamdiu persecutus est, quoad se Rēgulus in sarmentis, et uepreculis abdidit ubi uero in hospitium uenit, et ab incolis, quodnam illud genus lacertæ esset, interrogauit, non aliter mirati sunt, quod *regulo conspecto superaret, quam *Melitæi,¹ quod ictus a bestia D Paulus, incolumis permaneret | Act 28
- 3 Ea vero, magnitudine *muris est qui uocatur nitedula,² speciem ferens, eius lacerti, qui uento vescitur, obiectoque sibi proxime colore inficitur, ac chamæleon dicitur Plerique eius municipij contribules, præter morem cæterorum eius conuentus municipalium, in tuguriolis rotundis, humilibusque habitant Agricultura, quamuis tenui
 Round huts 4 agro, | et angusto, uiuunt Ager n saxeto undique cingitur, unde existimo tantam venenatorum colluuiem præcipue scorpionum emanare³
- F 16b 1 Siurange, exacto triduo, Naroarim petunt, difficili sane ac, periculosa uia Nam
 To Narwar Sipri ab oppido Cyperino, solitudo quædam, et collis perangustus et amnis occurrunt, quæ a sibi proxima ciuitate nomen mutantur *E quibus⁴ agrestes oppidani, confisi, se tuto, atque impune posse *prædas facere⁵ solent ex insidijs, *prætereuntes⁶ inuadere, *expilare, diripere⁷
- 2 Est vero ciuitas | Naroaris in *collis⁸ radicibus posita, cui arx imminet, *in æquata montis planitie explicata Verum iniuriâ coeli, *cum undique omnes uenti erumpant,⁹ adeo sæui turbines in ea existunt, ut nisi huic iniuriæ arcendæ, atque adeo superandæ Deus, et natura magnam loco marmorearum tabularum copiam tribuisset, nullis tegulis tecta constare potuissent¹⁰
- 3 His diebus, | circa 15 diem lunæ Februarij, nouendiales ferias Agarenū Idæa
 Muharram sacra gentiles habebant Nouendiales feriæ, ob honorem Assani & Hossemi, Mahameddi, ex Fatima filia nepotum patre Halide suscipiuntur Quos narrant, ut

1 ist. bestiola

2 Later addition.

3 ist. cestiola conspecta.

4 ist. Ruddy, andly. Mitilene

5 ist. magnitudine nitedulæ est

6 The whole of this paragraph is bracketed in the MS

7 ist. quibus.

8 ist. prætereuntes depradant

9 ist. eos qui iter agunt.

10 Later addition.

11 ist. monticuli.

12 ist. in area monticuli ædificata.

13 Later addition.

14 This paragraph is bracketed in the MS

- 4 aut *leges stabilirent¹ ac propagarent, cum bello superati, cum | suis copijs, a Christianis fuissent ingentes cruciatus fuisse, ab exlegibus *(ut ipsi dicunt)² perpressos, iussosque nudis pedibus prunas premere ob quam causam nouendialibus ||
- F 17a 1 media se affligunt, legumine tantum uescuntur, statis diebus, pro concione, labores illorum quidam e suggestu percensent, quorum oratione, vniuersus coetus se lamentis, lacrymisque dedit Deinde extremo feriarum die structos, et incensos uicatim rogos,
- 2 saltu transiliunt, postea calentes cineres, pedibus dispergunt Interea | dum hæc agitantur, inconditis, et barbaris clamoribus, Assan Hossen inclamant Neque vero
- Holl festival gentilium Idæa sacra, ijs sunt, insana superstitione, inferiora Nam quindecim fere dierum spatio, puluerem in sese mutuo, et in prætereuntes quoscumque, impune iaciunt, lutoque seipsos et obuios quosque inficiunt, ac e fistulis, infectum rubrica |
- 3 imbrem eiaculantur, tandem ad sordida sacra sordidati, decima quinta luce accedunt quo die, Matri Deorum, quam varijs nominibus appellant, (ueteres Romani Cybelem, et magnam matrem, et Idæam dicebant) arborem et genere, et similitudine palmæ affinem, inani superstitione, atque anili consecrant consecratæ, quasi in Deos |
- 4 relatæ libant, et uota nuncupant Ad extremum, cum spoponderint, se in annum proximum, aliam *dedicatuos,³ nocte per triuia, pro domibus, *lignorum strues⁴ magna torrium congerie construunt quas canendo lustrant ac, tandem consecratam, atque adeo execrandam stipitem, igne consumunt⁵ ||
- F 17b 1 Naroari, Goalerim, bidui itinere, ventum est Arce munitissima, et Regio domicilio, in fastigio rupis, ad cuius radices, ciuitas posita est Goaleris exornatur Et ad arcem quidem, uno tantum, eoque aspero, ac difficili itinere aditur Pro foribus,
- Gwallor effigies elephantis, uasta, et immanis spectatur In rupe locis præruptis, ædes tum
- Elephant statue. 2 sacræ, | tum profanæ subterraneæ, excauatæ sunt Et quod Sacerdotibus, non
- Curious sculptures mediocrem admirationem attulit, in pariete vestibuli, unius templi, tredecim simulachra insculpta, cingulo tenus, cernuntur, rudi quidem opere quorum medium, habitu, situque, Christi reliqua sex, dextrorsus, sinistrorsusque posita, Apostolorum
- 3 faciem, afferre uidebantur | Attamen, quod insignibus alijs carerent, quibus Christiani sacras effigies, honestare solent, non satis constare potuit, quorum essent
- Former Christians Constat uero, ab Agarenis qui simulachra promiscue, nullo adhibito delectu, deturbant, et effringunt, non esse positas Nec tamen nos latet, annis abhinc trecentis,
- 4 eam regionem Christianos coluisse, | qui uarijs Agarenorum prælijs (heu dolor) victi, et profligati sunt, nomine Christiano prorsus, ex hominum memoria, animisque euulso Cuius rei pœnas (si saperent) se luere, ex eo maxime deprehenderent, quod
- F 18a 1 a nebulonibus præstigijs, ac fallacijs passim eluduntur || Namque, paucis ab hinc annis, in hac eadem ciuitate, nebulo quidam, cui nomen erat Baba Capurius, Mahammedi sectator, fuit, qui Bacchi exoletos mores, et instituta potione quadam, instaurauit, quæ ex papaueris putaminibus aqua dilutis, conficitur Opinabatur
- Bābā Kapūr and drinkers of post.

¹ 1st sectam assererent² Later addition³ 1st statutuors⁴ 1st focos⁵ This paragraph is cancelled in the MS

homo perditus, in eo beatitudinem esse positam, si omni sensu quis careat, nec
 2 corporis | morbos nec animi ægritudines patitur, quin magis, quodam sensuum
 lenocinio semisopitus, delinatur Cumque id oppio effici animaduertisset, cui tamen
 si quis assuescat, in discrimen incidit præmaturæ mortis, ex papauerum siliquis,
 3 siliquis incisis effluxit, | æque maturitatem sunt consequutæ, demptis seminibus,
 in aquam conijciuntur, tandiuque subiguntur, donec humor quasi vinum coloretur
 Qui posteaquam paulisper resedit, in uas aliud reticulo interiecto, tenuissimi limi,
 transfunditur, et expurgatur, eiusque iam ad potandum parati *ipsi pharmacopæi¹
 4 magnis crateribus se proluunt Abstinent | vero carnibus, cepa, allijs, et id genus
 cæteris, tum deinde fructibus, sed oleo diligentissime, quod post oppium, et post
 hanc potionem haustum, est mortiferum Vescuntur tantum legumine decocto, et
 dulciculo aliquo cibo, tum demisso inter genua capite, Endymionis somnum dor-
 miunt Cum uero, in eo semper stertendi uitio, turpi inertiae, ad desidendum,
 F 18b 1 amplissimus locus pateat, id ille castitatis splendore, usque eo colonestatum iri
 putauit, ut potius admirationi, quam reprehensioni, se obnoxium fore non obscura
 spe, et cæca expectatione duceretur Nam ea est huius potionis natura, ut impu-
 2 dicos corporis, | ad uoluptatem motus, innato frigore reprimat, quo factum est, ut
 opinione sanctitatis, et honorificum sepulchrum, et templum in hoc municipio
 Babā Kapūr's tomb obtinuerit Ad cuius tumulum, assidue excubant, seu potius procumbunt, ex eius
 sectatoribus, *saltem² triginta, quibus crastinus dies, nihil dat ad cogitandum
 3 Nouus | hic Epicuræorum coryphæus, plurimos nactus est, qui ei nomen dederunt,
 Akbar, one of his fol- lowers viros quidem principes, et in ijs regem ipsum Zelaldinum magnum qui omnes ab
 eo pharmaco, quod uulgarī eorum lingua, postum dicitur, Postinos se dici honorifi-
 cum arbitrantur³
 4 Goaleri, ad oram Sambālī fluminis uentum est, qui secus Daulpurum | fluit,⁴
 The Cham- bal R quod Maluanī regni et Deliminī, uel Indici, limēs est, ac loci natura, hominum
 Dholpur industria, atque labore munitissimum Fuit enim anteaquam sub vnius imperium,
 ditionemque Deliminī et Maluanī caderent, Deliminorum propugnaculum firmissimum,
 F 19a 1 sicuti Goaleris || Maluanorum Ac natura quidem loci, ea est ut equitatu, nihil fere
 bellica laude dignum, præstari queat Nam cum procul inspectantibus peramplus,
 æquus, et planus ager appareat, est tamen, tot salebris, et asperitatibus subsiden-
 2 tum conuallium dissectus, ut si quis aberret, aut magno anfractu, non optimis uijs,
 et angustissimis | semitis, ad iter cum periculo redire aut in manus hostium, uel
 latronum incidere periclitetur Daulpurum uero Latinis, erit Alba urbs⁵ Et
 Sāmbālī quidem *flumen, magnum⁶ est, atque ad littus *Gedrosicum uersus⁷

¹ Later addition

1st ut plurimum

This paragraph from "arce munitissima" (fol 17b 1) is bracketed in the MS

² Cancelled in the MS

³ Bracketed in the MS from quod Maluanī (fol 18b 4)

1st flumen quod etiam illi ut magnum

⁷ i.e. Gedrosicum in Arachosicumque uersus.

occidentem solem fertur, tantundem vero ab Agara ubi sedes est regni, abest, atque a

3 Fattepuro, | ubi magnus Rex degit hoc est, iter bidui Quo Sacerdotes a legato
To Fatehpur deducti sunt

Remarks on the journey
1 The country
Toto hoc itinere conficiendo, illud in primis, animaduersum est, a littore maris
versus septentrionem, quasi per quosdam gradus, regiones semper ascendisse, easque
quibusdam ueluti areis, ut fieri solet in hortis, qui in cliuo positi sunt, attolli, quibus

4 sunt pro ripis, | ipsi montes¹ Secundo deinde loco, obseruatum est Agarenorum
2 Hindū temples destroyed
F 19b 1 diligentia, omnia idolorum delubra, quæ plurima erant delecta esse Verum ipsorum
incuria, iisdem locis et alijs, in quibus aliquod uestigium simulachri reperitur, || a
gentilibus, in omnium oculis, sacrificia fieri, suffimenta poni, oleum atque unguenta

3 Idolatry replaced by Muhammadan superstition
fundi, humum floribus spargi, coronas appendi Ac pro gentilium delubris (quod
tertio loco adnotatum est) innumera prophanorum, et sceleratissimorum hominum
Agarenorum sepulchra, et ædículas, in quibus pro diuis inani superstitione coluntur,

2 esse erecta Quæ res Sacerdotum | misericordiam, non sine lacrymis, et dolore
maximo commoueabant Quis n misericordia eorum non frangatur, qui in perniciem
animarum suarum, vitia pro uirtutibus, scelera pro miraculis admirantur² et perditis-
simos nebulones, pro sanctissimis uiris reuerentur³

3 At vero Sacerdotes, ubi urbem procul conspexerunt, maximas Deo | immortal
Fatehpur gratias egerunt, qui se incolumes, ad suscepti itineris metas perduxerat Deinde
urbis amplitudine, ac magestate, sunt non mediocriter delectati Urbem ingressi,
desuetudine peregrini cultus, omnium ad se oculos conuerterunt, qui non satis sese
expediebant, sed ignoratione impediti, in magna hæsitacione hærebant, | quinam illi
4 essent homines *atrati,² inermes, togati, petasati, tonsi, rasique

Akbar Perducti tandem sunt ad Regem. Quos Rex, ubi ex editiore loco aspexit, ad se
F 20a 1 propius iussit accedere Cui pauca interroganti, librum || Geographiæ tradiderunt,
Presenting an Atlas ab Archiepiscopo Goano dono missum, quem libenter accepit Ac cum eorum
aspectu, non mediocriter oblectaretur, tamen, tum ne suum animum proderet, tum
ut grauitatem seruaret, nihil nimis indulgenter loquutus est, sed breui se subduxit

2 at ubi paulisper intus constitit, eos ad se in interius domicilium, | et locum, qui
Kapūr Tālāw? Daulat Khāna. Portuguese dress
dicitur, Capūr, Talaū adduci iubet, ut suis uxoribus spectaculum daret, tandem
in aliud impluuium, quod Daulatqhanā vocatur, perduxit ubi ocasionem arripuit,
ex subitis imbribus et more Lusitano pallium purpureum, aureis fibulis induit,

3 filiosque eodem vestitu, et pileis Lusitanicis prodire iussit ut ea | re hospitibus
800 Gold Mohurs refused
gratificaretur, quibus etiam octingentos aureos nummos numerari iuebatur At cum
Sacerdotes ei respondissent, se non eò uenisse, ut aurum quærent, nec omnino ut
acciperent, efficere potuisset, temperantiam eorum admiratus, inter aliquot Lusitanos,

4 qui ex Tavarij (quem supra commemorauimus) comitatu remanserant | diuidi impe-
Portuguese at Court. rauit, et intus sese recepit *Sacerdotes,³ regis uoluntate perspecta, læti in hospitium

1 Cancelled in the MS from, Et Sambali (fol. 19a. 2)

2 In MS attrati.

3 ist sacrific

- deducti sunt His enim significationibus, *Regem ad Christi cultum et puram religionem demigraturum sibi¹ || certo pollicebantur
- F. 20b 1** **Lenten fare at Fr J Pereira's** Postero die, ab eo Sacerdote, quem a Gangaride accersitum, cum Rege uersari supra demonstrauius, perhumaniter, et (quod quadragenariæ mediæ dies essent) piscibus, frugaliter extructa mensa, accepti sunt A quo deinceps, quo loco res nostræ religionis, apud Regem essent, intelligere conati sunt Qui in primis respondit, | ab eo reuerentiam aduersus Christum, et Deiparam Virginem adhiberi, parumque abesse, quo minus Diuinum honorem, Christo tribueret Deinde quæ ab illo in Euangelio præcepta sunt, Regem non tantum probare, sed laudibus extollere
- Comparing notes** 2 Mirari vero, tanto studio coli castitatem a Christianis, ut vir unam tantum foeminam, in | matrimonio habeat, et sacerdotibus uxore, foeminaque omnino interdicitur Verum dicere, sui aciem iudicij, quasi per caliginem perstringi, cum audiret in uno Deo trinas personas Deum filium habere ex virgine, laborasse in cruce, in eaque a Judæis necatum fuisse, fore tamen ut non diffiteretur, ea vera esse si sibi persuaderent, |
- Akbar's psychology** 3 Euangelii librum a Deo prodijisse At Christi miracula libenter audire, illis fidem habere at uero de Mahamedde longe aliter sentire nebulonem & impostorem ||
- F. 21a 1** fuisse qui confictis a se mendacijs, homines a mente dimouisset, ac cum in triclinio, suspensas ymages Christi, Mariæ, Moysis, et Mahameddis haberet, a tergo relinquens Mahameddem dixisse, hæc ymago est Christi, illa Mariæ, hæc Moysi, ista Mahameddis
- 2 quo significare uoluisse, quid ipse de illo sentiret Ad summam, | ne de singulis agatur, hæc ab illo Sacerdote, de Regis animo cognita, et Sacerdotibus enarrata, lucem quamdam ipsis attulerunt, ut qua deinceps uia, insistendum esset, apertius exploratum haberent Summo quidem studio, ante nostrorum Sacerdotum aduentum, cum
- 3 non exigua, ipsius voluntatis, erga Christianam fidem significatione, | Regem Ægidius (hoc nomen illi Sacerdoti erat) instituere conatus est verum inscitia interpretis, quominus maiores progressus faceret impeditus est, eoque adductus, ut pro fide
- Ordeal of fire** 4 *stabilienda² flammis, et incendio conflagrare, et ab igne pati, non semel, aut iterum constanti animo, cuidam conditionem | proponenti, ut difficilis disputatio relinqueretur, se paratum esse reciperet³
- Est Fatehpurum (quod Nicopolis dici potest) a Rege nuper, cum primum confecto
- F. 21b 1** bello Gedrosico Agaram, ad suas sedes redijt, ædificatum, || in quadam quasi fronte, cuiusdam montis, quem antiqui Vindium (ut opinor) dixerunt qui ad ocasum
- Fatehpur described** centum milliaria uersus Azmîrum procurrit, loco quidem saxoso, et parum amœno, iuxta uetustum oppidum, quod propterea, Purána Siquiris dicitur Purána n
- 2 eorum lingua, veterem sonat, at Siquiris loci nomen est | Verum auri gaza regia, in primis, deinde optimatum, qui in Regis curia versantur pecunia, ut qui principis uoluptati magno studio inseruiunt, nouem annorum spatio, ædificijs mirabiliter, et magnifice auctum, et exornatum est Præcipua tamen ipsius ornamenta sunt, aula
- New Sikri begun in 1571 Cf fol 3a** 3 ipsa Regis, cuius est ambitus latissimus, et impendet | uniuerso municipio, pulcher-

¹ 1st Regis conuersionem sibi

² 1st statuenda.

³ Everything is cancelled in the MS from ' secundo deinde loco ' (fol 192 4)

rimo prospectu, deinde aedes maxima, fornicibus subnixæ, cuius etiam area amplissima est, tum Circus, ubi elephantes decertant, gladiatorum spectacula *eduntur,¹ lignea pila, malleis quoque ligneis pulsa, ex equis luditur, deinde balneæ, ad hæc negotiatorum uicus, qui passibus | fere quingentis, in longum patet, ubi mira et uaria est, mercium omnis generis *abundantia et copia,² tum hominum, qui prope innumeri, in ea constipantur, maxima frequentia. Ac ne aquæ penuria laboraretur, stagnum || industria laboreque comparatum, longum passus duo mille, latum sesquimille. Illud uero Rex, in hunc modum, fieri edixit. Vallem quæ subsidebat, et imbribus hyeme complebatur, qui tamen, aut elabebantur, aut exsiccabantur, paulatim eo loco, quo defluebant, magno uallo sepiri iussit ne fluerent. Qua una, eademque opera, aquæ penuriæ succurrit, | et cœli grauitatî consuluit. Nam ubi sol ad occasum uergit, placidissimum aerem efflat, quo *calores,³ qui sunt eo in loco maximî, *temperantur, ac præterea summa cum amœnitate stagni Rex ludorum diebus quibus ad illud descendit se reficit.⁴ Verum ut eius urbis, reliqua ornamenta præteream, murorum arcis circuitus, quem frequentissimæ turres exornant duorum millium passuum est, quattuor tantum portis. Agarena | ad ortum, Azimîna ad occasum, Circi uersus septentrionem, Daulpurîna ad austrum. Verum porta Circi, quæ frequenter Rex descendit ad Circum, pulchritudine reliquis antecellit. Elephantum enim pro foribus, proboscide sublata effigies duæ, eadem qua ipsi sunt magnitudine, ad unguem fabricatæ | (existimes opus Phidiæ) quas portam asseruent, constitutæ sunt, quæ magnam loco magestatem conciliant. Iuxta Circum, pyramis excitatur, a qua lapides uersus || Agaram, ad orientem solem, et Asimîrim ad occasum, more Romano, emenso sesquimilliaro numerantur. Ac cum Zelaldinus Agaræ ageret, hortatu cuiusdam Sophi (genus est hominum, qui tum sapientiam, tum pietatem profitentur) qui in *gurgustio,⁵ in hac rupe degebat. Agara relicta Siquirinum commigrauit |

Est quidem Agara, urbs amplitudine, atque antiquitate præstantissima, quam Jomanes fluuius alluit, in qua Zelaldinus magnus, natus, educatus, et Rex patre e uiuis, graui, et miserabili casu sublato, primum renunciatus est. Nam cum pater, cui erat nomen Emaunus, Delinî in solario aulæ deambularet, | et ut fit, arundinî innixus, ad crepidinem tecti incumberet, labente scipione, præceps in hortum actus est. Qui ex tam horribili, ac tam repentino casu interiit. Erat vir studijs litterarijs excultus, et studiosorum amator, at in re bellica, non multum acer, et strenuus, contraquam Zelaldino euenit, qui litterarum | ignarus, bellica virtute clarus est.

Itaque Agaræ natus, cum primum salutatus est Rex, sedem regni | quæ Delinî erat, iam inde a Christianorum regum temporibus, in eam transtulit, aulamque, et arcem struxit, ea laxitate, ut facile magni oppidi amplitudinem superet. Inclusit enim arcis, et aulæ septis domos optimatum suorum, horrea, ærarium, armamentarium, equorum stabula, propolarum, et opificum, pharmacopolarum, et tonsorum, omnium

¹ In MS æduntur² 1st multitudo³ 1st æstus⁴ 1st refrigerantur⁵ 1st tugurioloCircus
Polo

4

Lake

F 22a 1

2

Fort 2 miles
in circuit.

3

The 4 gates

2 Elephant
statues

4

Distances
counted from
Fatehpur

F 22b 1

Salim Chish-
ti's advice

2

Agra de-
scribed
Humayun's
tragic death

3

4

F 23a 1

Delhi aban-
doned Chris-
tian kings
at DelhiAgra Fort
built

- 2 demique curialium | operarum, domunculas & tabernas Ea vero lapidum coag-
2 Kings on mentatione, ut nulla interiecta calce, commissuræ vix appareant, quod etiam efficit,
elephant coloris lapidum, per omnem murum, eadem cohærens, et continuata venustas rubro
statues n sunt omnes colore Pro foribus, statuas duorum regulorum posuit, quos ipse
 3 fistulæ tormento traiecit, elephantumque | statuas, ea magnitudine, qua uniu esse
 solent, quibus illi uehebantur quæ essent, veluti trophæa, et suæ virtutis, ac rerum,
 bello cum laude gestarum, monumenta Ac si ut uolebat cecidisset, sapienter
Wealth and quidem egerat, nam Agara et cœli clementia, et soli ubertate, et amne, hortorum-
size of Agra que amœnitate, celebritate uero omnis generis hominum, tum etiam | magnitudine,
 4 omnibus fere, eius regionis, ciuitatibus antecellit Est enim passuum duobus millibus
 lata, longa quattuor, nihil in ea, ad usum, et commodum humanæ uitæ, ex ipsa etiam
 ultima Europa, importatum exposci potest quin suppetat Artificum, fabrorum,
F 23b 1 et aurificum magnus est in ea conuentus || Gemmæ, et margaritæ sunt quamplurimæ,
 auri argentique magna uis, equi Persici, et Tartaraci [sic] permulti Denique omnibus
 copijs, et omnium rerum abundantia, circumfluit Quo fit ut annonæ difficultas,
 insolenter, et raro eueniat Ad hæc quod in medio sita sit, et quasi umbilicus totius
 2 regni, facile Rex cum res postularet, quoquo versus | ire, et a suis undequaque conueniri
 poterat Verum ut sunt res humanæ, aliter quam sperabat res cecidit Nam
A haunted absoluto iam opere, ubi Rex nouam arcem, et aulam incolere cœpit,* lemures,¹ diuino
palace id permittente numine, domos percurrere, rursum prorsum cursitare, omnia conuellere,
 3 mulierculas, et pueros territare, lapides | iacere, omnibus demique nocere *instituunt²
 Ac fuissent fortasse, hæc incommoda, si latius se non fudissent, ferenda Verum in
 Regis liberos, Dæmonis sese effudit audacia quos biduo, aut triduo postquam nati
Death of A's essent, enecabat Et binos, aut ternos eripuit Quare tanto damno commotus, quod
children 4 uideret se posteritate cariturum, ad Sophum adit, | quem in rupe ad Siquirum degere,
 solitarium diximus, et ei, quæ a Dæmone pateretur damna exposuit Ille ut quam
Agra aban- ocyssime Agara, in eum locum demigret Regi persuadet Dicto e uestigio paruit, et
doned uillam, paruam quidem, sed regia magnificentia, quam citissime ædificari iussit, ||
F 24a 1 quæ breui in Basilicam euasit
 Jam uero Sacerdotes, ubi paulisper, ex itineris lassitudine recreati, ad regem sunt
 iterum euocati ad id opus manus admouerunt, cujus caussa tam diuturna, et longin-
March 3, qua peregrinatio suscepta fuerat Eius rei hanc occasionem captauerunt Quinto
1580, O S 2 nonas Martij, Sacra Biblia quattuor linguis scripta, | septeno uolumine, in aulam
The Bible in deportauerunt, eaque regi uidenda exhibuerunt, quæ ille religionis caussa, coram
7 volumes suis satrapis, et *religionum magistris,³ non solum est osculatus, sed suo super
A's rever- imposuit capiti, rogabatque, quoniam in uolumine, esset Euangelium? Quod ubi
ence for reperit, religiosius, est ueneratus Deinde Sacerdotes, ad se in priuatum triclinium,
them 3 cum Biblijs | seuocauit quæ iterum, *magna adhibita reuerentia erga illa, et cum
 gaudio,⁴ euoluit uoluitque ut sibi commodarentur, eaque in eodem triclinio, ubi

1 ist malus dæmon

2 ist: instituit.

3 ist sacrificulis.

4 ist magna cum reuerentia et gaudio

solet frequentissime commorari, inclusa eleganti thecæ, et librorum dignitati, accom-
 1st Discus- modatæ commisit. Hinc data est ansa, ad disputationem, in qua, noctu accurate,
 sion
 4 cum *magistris¹ et literarum peritis, de fide et authoritate Sacrarum | Scripturarum,
 The Bib'e quibus Christiana religio nititur de vanitate, et mendacijs libri, cui ipsi credunt,
 re the Qo- tanquam diuinitus dato quem Mahameddes, ut alia taceam, refersit fabulis in-
 rān
 F 24b 1 numeris, ijsque futilitatis, summæque leuitatis plenis, disputatum² est || Et Euangelio
 quidem, vetustissimos Moysis, et Prophetarum libros, testimonium dare, nec ipsum
 Alcoranum, quamuis cum Euangelio, pugnet, atque adeo, maxime seiuncta, ab
 Euangelio, et contraria dicat, effugere potuisse, quoniam ipsi non solum ueritatis, sed
 etiam sanctitatis, testimonium tribueret. At enim non vno loco, datum esse a Deo
 2 Opt | Max Euangelium Christo quanquam inepte quidem, eius author affirmet,
 librum *compactum et coagmentatum, a Deo Christo fuisse traditum, sicuti Moysi
 Torah, i e, lex | Davidi Zabur, i e, Psalmorum liber, sibi vero (dabitur enim venia,
 quod tot barbaras uoces confarciam) Alfurcanum. Enimuero, Alfurcano, a nemine
 3 testimonium | dari, ac diuina ope, factum est, eo aduersarios deduci, ut eorum
 argumentis refutatis, ipsi ijs, quæ aduersus libri sui disciplinam obijciebantur,
 nequirent satisfacere ac propter Regis conspectum pudore a disputando refugerent,
 et tandem omnino conticescerent.

4 Vbi disputandi finem fecerunt, Rex | seorsum Sacerdotes abduxit. "Satis,"
 Congratu- inquit, "superque mihi a uobis est satisfactum, et uestræ legis religio, placet. verum
 lations and "quoniam hi scelerati sunt, admonitos uos uolo ut in agendo et loquendo cauti sitis,
 warning
 F 25a 1 "unum opto, ut quoniam pacto Deus Opt | Max trinus sit, et unus explicetis, deinde,
 "quæ filium habeat, de uirgine hominem factum. Etenim mihi uel hæc duo, difficiliora
 "uidentur, quam ut intellectu capere possim." Quibus illi "quod ad *mystagogos³
 "attinet, ut tibi morem geramus, non quod nobis ab ipsis timeamus, deinceps ut
 2 "præcipis in agendo cum ipsis, | cauti erimus. Quod uero ad id attinet, quod
 "exoptas, a Deo postula, qui affluit, et omnibus profuse, ac liberaliter condonat, ac
 "cum animi demissione, ad audiendum accede." Apud Regem plurimum ualuit,
 quod Sacra Biblia, tot linguis scripta, nihil diuersum continere deprehenderentur, sed
 3 idem unumquodque idioma redderet, tum quod | Alfurcanum, in latinum sermonem
 conuersum (quod Diui Bernardi accuratissimæ diligentiae, acceptum ferendum est)
 perinde bene, ac cuius *mystagogi,⁴ nostri Sacerdotes callerent quod eos mæstos,
 et animo grauiter affectos, uehementissime cruciabat, ac *consumebat,⁵ tum quod
 nostri Sacerdotes, sententijs consentirent, at uero sui, de rebus Alfurcani, in disputa-
 4 tionibus | a se mutuo dissentirent,⁷ quod Regi magnopere displicebat. Ac prima
 quidem, cum Agarenis⁶ *mystagogis,⁸ congressio sic habuit.

2nd Dis- Post tres dies de beatitudine, secundo disputatum est, quam Muhammedes,
 cussion
 F 25b 1 impijssime || ac mendacissime asseuerat, epulationibus et turpibus delicijs, et alijs
 Heavenly rebus, toto cœlo diuersis, ab ijs quas Sacræ Litteræ affirmant, contineri
 bliss

¹ 1st sacrificulis.

² From 'quinto nonas' (fol. 14 r) the anonymous annotator underlined every line in pencil. In the margin he wrote N B.

³ 1st compaginatum

⁴ 1st perturbabat

⁵ 1st sacrificulos

⁷ In MS dissentirentur

⁶ 1st sacrificuli

⁸ 1st sacrificulis

3rd Dis- Post dies aliquot, Mahameddis arrogantia, argumentum ad tertio disputandum
 cussion dedit Nam cum in Alcorano scribat, Christum iustum fuisse, et absque crimine,
 2 et matrem habuisse virginem, | quæ eum ex Diuino Spiritu concepisset, ipsumque non
 Muha m- ex hominis cuiusquam satu, ortum esse, se vero peccatorem, et simulachrorum
 mad his own cultorem, nec ulla miracula edidisse impudenter tamen, et arroganter, se Christo
 witness esse maiorem, et potiore affirmit Et cum Sacerdotes dicerent, impudentem &
 3 ridiculum eum hominem esse, qui in sua re | sui ipsius testimonio abuteretur (nam
 cum testimonium, rei confirmandæ causa sumatur, ab alio quam a se veritatis
 testimonium peti oportet) et Christo quidem graue testimonium, cūm Prophetas
 uiros clarissimos qui eius aduentum prænuntiarunt, tum ipsum Euangelicum uolu-
 4 men (non ab ipso scriptum, aut uti Alfurcanum a Mahamedde | consarcinatum) quod
 eius virtutes, et ostenta narrat, impartiri et Mahameddem, solum sibi esse testem,
 solum de se scribere, solum de se mira narrare, alium præterea neminem victi, ac
 F 26a 1 perturbati Agarenī, ad prodigia¹ || prouocarunt "Periclitemur" inquit, "vtrius
 Ordeal of "factionis libri sint ueraces *rogus extruatur, igne inflammetur² *Vnus uestrum,
 fire "gerens Euangelium, unus similiter nostrum, habens Syndagma, in rogam ardentem
 "ascendat,³ eius qui euaserit liber, simul cum gestatore, uerax habeatur" Simili
 sermone Rex Sacerdotes lacessiuit, et tum quidem ipsi paucis responderunt non
 2 opus esse prodigijs, cum legis | nostræ rationem redderemus atque exponeremus
 Occurrenti Regi, se nolle amplius rationem, omnes acclamarunt, "Pax Regi!" et hic
 quidem exitus huius disputationis fuit

Ac Rodolfus, quem facile sodales sequuti fuissent, ut erat ingenio religiosissime
 ardens, et feruidus, atque necis pro Christo, quacunque objecta occasione, oppetendæ
 3 cupidissimus, et ad pietatem | promptissimus, si exploratum illi fuisset, ita facto
 Why re- opus esse, non fuisset cunctatus, at uero quoniam dubius hærebat, nihil est conatus
 jected^o Verum ne formidine mortis, ab accipienda ignis conditione, deterritus fuisse
 uideretur, ex sententia sodalium, hæc ubi primum locum, et tempus nactus est,
 4 Regi suggestit "Quod," inquit, "ad ignis propositam conditionem | attinet, si
 "meam, & sodalium, in fide, ac religione Jesu Christi, quam a maioribus nostris
 "accepimus, et cum lacte suximus, ad quam imbuti sumus, cui deseruimus,
 "constantiam periclitari, Rex, velis, non unum sed mille rogos alacri animo
 "festinatissime Dei auxilio subnixi, conscendemus nec speramus, aut expetimus ||
 F 26b 1 "prodigio liberari, quamuis eundem illum Deum colamus, qui tres pueros Hebræos, Dan
 "in fornace incolumes conseruauit, et de fornace, nulla ignis iniuria læsos eduxit
 "Elephantes, leones, pantheras, leopardos, præcipitia, cruces, uerbera, et omnes
 "cruciatus diuino auxilio freti, nihil extimescimus Huius rei, hac ipsa hora, si placet,
 2 "Rex, experimentum | capere poteris Nihil amplius moræ intercedet, quam
 "quantula futura est, dum noster sodalis qui lecto ægrotus tenetur, accersitur quem
 "continuo sanitati, præ animi lætitia, restitutum iri speramus Verum si ut prodi-
 "gium spectes, quasi uero aliquis nostrum, ita charus Deo habeatur, ut nihil ab igne

¹ Everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS from "Est Fattepurum

" (fol 21a 4)

² Later addition

³ 1st Vnus uestrum, gerens Euangelium, intret in rogam, unus similiter nostrum, habens Alfurcanum.

- 3 "patiatur, *ignis periculum proponis,¹ in primis nos ingenue | fatemur, integra quidem
 "fide, cæteris in rebus, sæpe lapsos fuisse, atque etiamnum labi, esseque peccatores,
 "quo sit, ut magna teneamur religione, nedum audeamus, nobis ipsis ostenta
 "polliceri, cum ignoremus charine Deo, an vero in offensa apud eum sinus Jam-
- F 27a 1 "uero igne periculum facere, num liber ex Deo sit, quoniam nec is comburatur, | nec
 "eius caussa ille qui eum gerat, a doctrina et exemplo Christi, quem tu, Rex, suspicis,
 "abhorret (Nec tu eum te esse patieris, quos ille esse dicit homines, qui ostenta
 "poscunt 'Generatio,' inquit 'mala,' et adultera signum quærit' Quo nomine *Matth 12*
 "Hebræos reprehendit) Nam ¶ cum malus Dæmon, ei suggereret, 'Si filius Dei es, *Luc 11*
 "mitte te deorsum', respondit, 'Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum', Herodi
 "miracula exposcenti, ne unum quidem uerbum fecit, et suffixus cruci, cum Iudæi
 "prodigium peterent 'Si filius Dei es (dicebant) descende nunc de cruce, et crede-
- 2 'mus tibi' non exaudivit Quod ad nos spectat, omnes qui ob fidem | cruciatus
 "pertulerunt (quos martyres nominamus) quorum plerique flammis combusti sunt,
 "nobis meliores fuerunt Quod ad librum, multa templa, ab hostibus nostræ
 "religionis ædesque complures cum Euangelijs, multa etiam phana Mahammeddis,
- 3 "cum *codicibus conflagrarunt, quo sit, ut ignis indicium, | dubium, et incertum
 "sit Jamvero ne Agarenos prætereamus, qui conditionem proponunt, si nos omnino
 "rogum subire imperas, illos, ut hoc discrimine liberes, flagitamus, quanquam nullum
 "credimus, adeo suæ legi, ac Prophetæ fidentem, aut adeo mentis inopem, qui se
- 4 "in hoc periculum dedat At vero, id est eorum ingenium, ut prodigia | efflagitent,
 "quod si eueniat, ab aliquo viro iusto, nostræ religionis, cultore dari, id veneficijs, et
 "cantionibus fieri dicant, exeuntem e flamma iaculis confodiant, lapidibus obruant
 "denique diuini prodigij fidei, et sanctitati tenebras offundere nitantur
- F 27b 1 "Quod usu uenit, Andreæ † Spoletano, ex ordine fratrum D Francisci, *qui[†] qua-
- The case of
Friar Andrew
of Spoleto "draginta abhinc annis, Marrhoquij in Affrica, ea conditione proposita, ab Agarenis,
 "qui fraudulentè dicebant, se Christiana sacra esse amplexuros, si ipse e rogo inco-
 "lumis exiret Vbi in media flamma deambulantem, et in cælum manus, oculosque
- 2 "attollentem conspexerunt | dum Christianorum, qui captiui detinebantur, et spec-
 "taculo aderant, populus, et ob rei nouitatem plebs reliqua applauderet, tum Agare-
 "norum, tum Iudæorum magnates, qui spectatores erant, lapidum et saxorum
 "colluue, hominem, et ipsum rogum obruerunt, ne diceretur flammæ homini
- 3 "pepercisse Cuius reliquæ, uiuida adhuc carne, ac spiranti | simili, in Lusitaniam,
 "ad Catharinam Austriacam, Lusitanæ Reginam, a quodam captiuo, qui postliminio
 "ex seruitute redijt, delatæ sunt ''[‡]
- No dissimu-
lation Huic orationi respondit Rex, "Deus auertat, non eo consilio uos accersui, ut
 "aliquid mali perferatis Verum est apud me quidam "mystagogus," qui se sanctum
- 4 "iactat, cum sit multis¹ magnisque sceleribus contaminatus, et noua quædam, in
 "Alcoranum, sua Minerua commentatur In hunc animaduertere instituo, vellemque
 "in ea re, uestra opera uti''—"In hoc," ait Rodolfus, "non possumus tibi auxilio

¹ Later addition[‡] 1st praun[‡] 1st Musaphis[†] Redundant, or else the verb of the relative clause is missing[‡] Cancelled in the MS from Quod usu uenit (fol 27a 4)[‡] 1st sacrificulus et legum magister

- F 28a 1 "esse, nam Sacerdotibus prohibetur, non solum hominem necare, || sed etiam aliquid,
 " *nisi casus aliquis id ferat ex ijs quos excipit¹ qui legibus moderatur, vel minimum
 " moliri, in hominis alicuius exitium et necem"—"Nolo," inquit, "ut ignem
 " subeatis, sed ut uos subituros esse tantummodo dicatis"—"Ne hoc quidem, o
 " Rex"—"Annuite saltem tantumdem Ego clara uoce renuntiabo, velle uos in
 " rogum ascendere tacete"—"Si tu, Rex," inquit / "palam pronuntiaueris, nos
 2 " uelle nos e contra palam | pronuntiabimus nolle. Atqui si hic dignus supplicio
 " est, quid opus est hoc circuitu, et hac simulatione, ut ignem agere?" Hanc Rodolfi
 præclaram sententiam qui audierunt *proceres, mirum in modum, collaudauerunt
 Atque hi quidem primi cum magno Rege, et eius *mystagogis congressus, et
 litterariæ pugnæ
 3 Non | præterijt quidem Sacerdotes, verbum quod exciderat Regi, dicenti se
 nolle amplius rationem accipere et ut suis satisfaceret, fortasse consulto effudisse,
 interpreting the King's mind interpretari maluerunt Vt uero Regis animum explorarent, Regi hæc suggerere
 4 secum statuerunt 'Oportere eum qui cupiat, || diuina Christianæ legis dogmata
 "perdiscere sicut ipse de se testatus est sæpius, me, duo præcipuè secum tractare,
 " *ut animum suum, ad diuinum lumen oculis mentis, et donorum quosdam uelut
 "imbres, quibus animus perfunditur, et irrigatur, corde exhauriendos, disponat"
 F 28b 1 "Quorum primum est, ut summo studio contendat, peccata deuitare quæ
 "animum a Deo longissime abstrahunt Nam Salomon a Divino Spiritu doctus scribit,
 "In animam maleuolam, non introibit sapientia nec habitabit, in corpore subdito
 "peccatis' Et quidam e uatibus, Dei loco clamant, ^{it} Conuertimini ad me, et ego con-
 2 "uertar ad uos, ait Dominus' | At Ioannes quidem, Zachariæ filius, qui prodromus
 "Christi fuit, ut animos Israeliticæ posteritatis, ad fidem erga illum formaret, ut pæni-
 "terent, et viam pararent illi aduenienti, et uenter complanarent sæpe repetebat
 "Ipse etiam Christus, initio suæ Euangelicæ denuntiationis, homines ad pænitentiam
 3 "est cohortatus | hoc ipsum, ut discipuli, ad docendum missi² factitarent edixit Atque
 "hoc ipsum, esse, inquam, fugienda peccata, uoluit significare, cum filiam Archisynagogi
 "emortuam excitaturus, tibicines, et turbam tumultuantem eiecit Nihil enim æque,
 "ac peccata, tumultum eum excitat in anima, qui sit impedimento, quominus accipere |
 4 "possit hospitio Christum, qui pacis, et tranquillitatis est Deus, et qui lucem oculis
 "abripiat, quo minus fidei lumen, quod ipse præfert, conspiciat, et in cordis receptaculo
 "claudat, ne cœlestes imbres, quibus illud Deus perfundit, hauriat Ac fabrorum
 F 29a 1 "quidem et opificum || nos exempla commonent Nam si domus sit ædificanda, ut fun-
 "damentum, quo tota domus nititur, iaciatur necesse est terram effodi et erui, ut saxis
 "locus sit, e quibus ædificium *extruatur³ Quod si uas aliquod, aqua pleinum, oleo
 "implere uelimus, aquam ut prius effundamus, oportet Si purgatam sordibus *linteam
 2 "uestem⁴ uelis induere, sordidam ut | exuas opus est Ob id D Paulus commone-
 "bat, ut ueterem hominem omnes exuerent, hoc est Adam uitia, et malas ad uitia
 "propensiones, ne sequerentur, ut possent nouum hominem (ipse est Christus) induere

¹ ist etiamsi potestas ab eo detur² ist satrapæ³ ist sacrificulis, et magistris⁴ Bracketed in MS Later note escreua se ysto⁵ ist excitetur⁶ ist subuculam

Sap 1

Matth
Marc
Luc 3Marc
Matth
Luc 5Matth
Marc
Luc 9

Matth

Colos 3

"noctemque cum eo transegit, ut ab illo doceretur¹ Quod nostra memoria,
 "Japonenses Reges imitantur, qui sacerdotum nostri sodalitij, humiles domos fre-
 "quentant, ut fidei, et religionis præcepta discant Nos quidem non id exposcere,
 4 "sed paratos esse, Regiam adire, dies, | noctesque laborare, in Christiana disciplina
 "tradenda, tantumque exoptare, ut curis, et occupationibus expeditus, docilem
 "se, et ad audiendum attentum, et discendi cupidum præbeat² Inijci uero nobis
 "religionem, si cum dedecore diuini uerbi negotium transigamus, formidareque,
 F 30b 1 "ne neglecta diuina obnuntiatione, || qua deploratum eum hominem denuntiat, qui
 "opus Dei facit negligenter, tum ipse Rex tum etiam nos, apud inferos pœnas
 "demus"

Captauit itaque Rodolfus tempus, quo hæc Regi suggereret cumque post aliquot
 dies, in basilicam Sacerdotes uenissent, ubi eos Rex conspexit, ad se accitos, intro
 2 deduxit, suaque sponte dixit optare se | ut Christiani, in suo regno agerent, et ut
 Religious liberty as in Turkey Christiano more templa ædificarentur, sicuti audierat fieri apud Turcarum Regem,
 et fore neminem, cui id nouum iure uideri posset, quandoquidem permetteret, simu-
 lachrorum cultores, et delubra, in suo regno esse Atque hæc cum eximij amoris,
 3 atque officij, non obscura significatione, dicebat | Quare ea oratione, tunc Rodolfus
 Rudolf's advice supersedendum putauit At biduo post, *separatim³ Regem, de ijs quæ comme-
 morata, et temporis visa sunt accommodata conuenit admonuitque, prudentis esse
 futuris prouidere, eumque iam inde ab eo loco, et tempore, debere modum, et
 4 rationem excogitare, qua sine tumultu, et uitæ discrimine, | Christianus esse posset
 quandoquidem ad fidem imbui postulabat *ne acerbitalis tempestate cohorta [coorta],
 eorum qui sibi aduersarentur, aut ipse deterreretur, quod esset, non bene subducta
 ratione, cœpisse ædificare, et bellum suscepisse, nec potuisse ad exitum usque per-
 F 31a 1 ducere || et consummare aut ipse interficeretur, quod cum iactura suæ posteritatis,
 et regni futurum esset⁴

His, paucis, respondit Rex "hæc in manu Dei esse posita, qui dat certas, et
 Akbar's answer "errare non patientes uias, ijs qui eius auxilium, et opem implorant, se quidem, nullius
 "rei cupiditatem habere, uxores, filios, et imperia, nihili facere Si modus deficiat,
 2 "quo sine tumultu Christianus | efficiar, fingam," inquit, "me uelle Mecam, uoti
 "soluendi caussa petere, et Goam me conferam, ut sacro flumine perfundar"

Hoc uerbo, exultati sunt Sacerdotes uehementissime et pridie eius diei, qua
 Holy Saturday, 1580 Christus rediuiuus e sepulchro surrexit in comitatu quorundam Lusitanorum, qui
 3 cum Rege, ex Tauarij cohorte remanserant, gratulatum, et bene | precandi caussa, ob
 Paschalitia, Regem salutarunt et *ubi⁵ gratiam retulit, ut eius diei mysteria sibi
 New quarters Prayers learnt. enuntiarent imperauit, eosque deduxit in aulae regionem, ubi eos degere uolebat, ut
 propius habitarent, et ad se docendum paratiores essent, deinde satellitio, et pro-
 cerum comitatu dimisso, solus cum eis, multa de nocte est uersatus, atque orandi |
 4 modum, et meritum interrogauit Cui Rodolfus paucis satisfecit

¹ Ist et ex discipulis Joannis quidam, nocte transigebant, ut ab illo docerentur

Christum audierant, se conferebant, noctemque cum eo

² Cancelled in MS from Nam ut in quadam , (fol 29b 1)

³ Ist seuocatum

⁴ Cancelled in MS from Ne acerbitalis tempestate

(fol. 30b 4)

⁵ Ist ut.

Easter dinner Near Akbar's palace F 31b 1 Akbar In the chapel Other visit to the chapel 2 A picture of the Madonna from Rome presented to Akbar 3 Abu-I Fazi teaching Persian F 32a 1 Henriquez 2 Rudolf's progress 3 Paris of the Gospels translated for Akbar 4

Postridie eius diei, illis de mensa dedit Paschalitjs uero exactis, e diuersorio, qui locus, ob celebritatem commorantium, rationi uitæ eorum, *inopportunus¹ erat, in illud aulæ domicilium, quod Rex ostenderat commigrarunt Quod ubi Rex rescuit, solus sese in illorum ædes contulit, et || recta, in sacellum perrexit, ubi deposito uelo, et expansis capillis, humo se prosternens, Christum, et eius matrem ueneratus est, et sermonem de rebus diuinis instituit, octauo post die, tres filios, et aliquot proceres, secum ad spectaculum adduxit, et *detractis calceis,² ipse et reliqui sunt ingressi Præcepit vero filijs, ut Christi, et virginis eius matris effigies | uenerarentur Ex *proceribus³ quidam, animo affectus exclamauit, illam esse uere cœlorum reginam, quæ *in suo solio pulcherrimo vestitu & ornatu regali sedebat⁴ Rex uero effigiem pulcherrimam virginis, quæ Roma *aduecta⁵ erat, nomine Prouinciæ Præpositi, ab ipsis traditam, summa cum lætitiæ demonstratione accepit

His quidem omnibus, incredibili quadam | lætitiâ perfundebantur Sacerdotes ac insolito quodam ardore accendebantur et nouo quasi spiritu concepto, tum denuo aggredi, et sese ad negotium, cum laude diuini numinis, et animarum lucro, transigendum aptos, reddere instituerunt Qua de caussa, a Rege, ut sibi præceptorem daret postularunt qui linguam Persicam, qua Rex, et | *proceres,⁶ et plerique alij milites utuntur, et ad disputationes accommodatior est, doceret Hanc prouinciam, cuidam iuueni ingenioso, et acri demandauit, cuius industria Rodolfus quidem, qui plurimum ingenio pollebat, ante tres menses, eos progressus fecit, in Persica lingua elegantiore, et ijs uocibus instructa, quæ ad tradendas scientias, accommodatæ sunt, et qua uiri studijs, doctrinisque dediti utuntur, ut palam de quacunque re proposita, si non ornate, et copiose, saltem ad intelligendum accommodate diceret

Alter uero sacerdos, *Ormuzi natus, maternam linguam, quæ Persica erat, obliuioni prope traditam, recuperauit Et illa quidem | Rodolfi, ad perdiscendum promptitudo, et celeritas non solum ingenij, et doctrinæ, apud Regem, et magistros, opinionem conciliauit, uerum etiam, admirationem habuit Mirabantur enim, exterum, et aduentitium hominem, tanta facilitate, ignotam, et peregrinam linguam didicisse, et ipso peregrino uocis sono, mirifice delectabantur Atque ubi | eam uerborum copiam compararunt, qua tuto possent Euangelica monumenta, et fidei dogmata Persicis litteris committere Euangelij præcipuas rerum gestarum periodos, in Persicum sermonem, conuertere instituerunt, tum deinde, ea quæ, ab Agarenis in quæstionem uocabantur, accuratissime disputata perscribere Quæ omnia Regi tradebantur tum | ut illa, attentius per otium, lectitari sibi iuberet, tum etiam ne inuidiam, aduersariorum, qui frequentes, cum Rege sermones, peruerse interpretabantur, incurrerent, tandem ne fauore Regis, homines peregrini, immodica consuetudine extolli, aut saltem confidentius, quam par est, agere uiderentur

Nostri Sacerdotes, et Agarenorum magistri, sæpe inter se, de fide Scripturarum, de Deo trino et uno de Filio, de eius morte, de Mahammede, de *Synthemate,

est. aptus non - ist. excussis calceis - ist. satrapæ
¹ ist. in suo throno sedebat - ist. in sua sede pulcherrimo vestitu sedebat.
² ist. aduecta. - ist. satrapæ
³ ist. qui Ormuz natus maternam linguam quæ Persica est quam obliuioni prope tradiderat.
⁴ ist. throno

- Topics of discussion** of de die Judicij, de morte, et resurrectione, et de rebus philosophicis, et politicis controuersi sunt, quæ singula si enumerarentur, infinitum prope esset Illud tamen silentio prætereundum non est (quod quidem sine arrogantia dicitur) diuini auxiliij
- Ordeal fire** 2 uirtute, quo Sacerdotes nitebantur, ¹ factum esse, ut in omni controuersia, silentium aduersarij sit impositum, ut sæpe ad miracula prouocarent Nam quod supra de igne dictum est, sæpissime commemorarunt mihi dubium non est, quin ut iniurias Mahammeddis, ab illis inter disputandum irrogatas, undicarent ut qui religione
- 3 tenerentur, tum suæ legis statuta in controuersiam uocari, | (quod ab impio ueteratore cautum est) ² tum honori fallacis prophetæ, coram se detrahi permisisse, quod apud eos flagitium est maximum, et ab ipso qui illis imposuit damnatum ¹ Nec deerat pudor, et quædam animi acerbitas, quod in publica disceptatione, suis se armis uinci
- 4 passi essent Sacerdotes enim ut plurimum, quæsitis, ex sua ipsorum | scriptura
- Quoting the Qorân** argumentis, non nostro iure, et legibus disceptando decertabant mirabanturque, eos suæ legis dogmata, ita in promptu habere, ut præ illis ipsi esse infantes uiderentur
- Abu-I Fazl on his guard** Quod ut maximus ² mystagogorum ² præfectus animaduertit, qui quidem Mahammeddicam disciplinam (et ob eam rem gratissimus Regi) irridet et Sacerdotibus semper
- F 33a** 1 fau t, quoties lis, et disputatio incidebat, essetne || ita scriptum in ¹ Syndagmate, ² sententiam illorum obseruabat, tacitus et ut ad eum ueniebatur, ita rem habere, ut illi affirmabant, dicebat Nam re compererat sæpissime, cum ad explorandam dicti fidem codices adducebantur, diligentissime nostros operam ² Syndagmati ¹ dedisse nec unquam, cum citabatur, deerrasse, quod ipse ingenue, tantum non
- 2 fatebatur, sed etiam prædicabat | At uero Rex in omni litteraria contentione illis
- Akbar's encomiums** interpres causæ, et disceptator, hoc est, rei sententiæque moderator erat ac si aliquod occurreret argumentum, quod Sacerdotum sententiæ faveret, proferebat palam disertissime nec ullam prætermittebat occasionem, eos collaudandi ut ipsos immodicæ fortasse laudis puderet Commendabat uero plurimum, paupertatis
- 3 studium, | et castitatis obseruantiam, et animo percussus ad pietatem, et rerum omnium repudiationem, dicebat illum vere existimari posse, Deum peramanter diligere, qui se mundi uoluptatibus, uxore, filijs, et rebus denique omnibus abdicaret
- Cum ergo Sacerdotum integritati, usque adeo fideret, ut filium secundo genitum,
- 4 educandum, et instituendum | traderet, et pecuniam, ut stipem pauperibus darent,
- A school in the palace** numerari iuberet hoc quidem onere, sese liberare, ¹ conati sunt et ¹ obtinuerunt Institutionem uero filij, tum propter spem emolumentij, quæ affulgebat, tum quod institutio iuorum functio sit Societatis propria etsi amplissimi honoris dignitatem, pro
- F 33b** 1 Societatis modestia optassent declinare admiserunt ¹ Atque eo die, quo instituendi pueri initium factum est, cum more patriæ, aureum nummum, sestertiorum pondo quinque, præceptoris dono Rex daret, et ille accipere recusasset non tantum Rex, sed et cæteri procures, vehementer admirati, illum pecuniarum contemptum, laudibus in cælum
- 2 extulerunt Instituendi pueri ratio, ac modus hic fuit ut initio lectionis, | nomen
- The sign of the Cross** Jesu, et Mariæ, religiose, ut est Christianorum mos inuocaret, deinde signi crucis,

¹ i. e. ut quod honori

detrahi quod apud eos

ab ipso damnatum permisissent

² i. e. sacculum¹ i. e. Alcorano² i. e. his sunt atque² The anonymous commentator underlined in pencil several passages from fol. 30^v to 33^v

in fronte, ore, et pectore, lineamenta conformaret, extremo, ut effigiem Christi, quæ depicta in libello erat, supplex ueneraretur id ipsum, reliqui condiscipuli, ex nobiliori
 *adolescentulorum¹ iuventute, a Rege ipso delecti, ut factitarent Propositus est

3 libellus, | Doctrinæ Christianæ, quo pueri, ad Christianam disciplinam, et pietatem
 The cate- instituantur, et exempla, quæ scriptitando imitarentur, pias sententias continebant
 chism An Ideal Et indoles pueri, ad virtutes, ingenium, ad litterarum studia, iure optimo in quouis
 pupil Et Christiano iuvene, ne dicam principe expetenda Parebat vero puer, præceptoris
 4 voluntati, et | usque adeo, dicto audiens erat, ut ne oculos quidem obiurganti,
 aliquando attollere auderet Nondum tres effluxerant menses, cum legere didicit,
 et scribendo quidem, ita præceptoris manum imitabatur, ut annum in eo labore
 F 34a 1 discendi versatus, facile existimari posset, quod Regi eius patri, pergratum et
 Rehears- tradita sibi uel memoriter, uel de fabulis recitaret * Quo incitamento, puer diligen-
 ing lessons tem operam nauabat * Nam eo fuit Rex ingenio ut cum filios officiosissime amaret,
 before Ak- cum res postulabat, illos asperius appellaret et non verbis solum sed etiam verberibus
 bar castigaret faceretque magistro potestatem, eos si quid peccarent puniendi, cuius
 2 rei cum puer, Sacerdoti factam esse potestatem | intelligeret, tamdiu eum exhorruit,
 No ferule quoad ea formidine, verbis lenibus magistri, liberatus est qui ei nihil esse a se extime-
 scendum denuntiavit, quum quod non sit consuetudinis Lusitanorum, principes ab
 3 alio, quam a parentibus, et nutritijs, quamdiu sunt infantes, cædi, tum quod, etsi in
 patria liceret non decebat exterum hominem, | puerum principem tantæ Regis filium
 cædere Nam quidem facultatem, Regia amplitudine, et confidentia factam potius
 inhibere, quam fræna laxare ut animaduersione, et supplicio in eum, magister
 4 uteretur Nec fugere prudentissimum Regem, ea in re non esse, sibi præceptorem
 obtemperaturum Qua oratione, et reliqua | consuetudine, longe alia, quam magistri
 Jahāngīr cæteri solebant ita animum, non pueri solum sed duorum fratrum obstrinxit ut
 and Dānyāl omnibus in rebus eum familiarissime adhiberent Erat discipulo nomen Pahārī, id est
 Montanus

F 34b 1 Augebat Regis, erga illos benevolentiam authoritas maximæ mystagogorum, &
 Abu-I Fazl magistorum præsulis, qui ipsis, semper maximopere fauit * Huic nomen erat Xec
 and Mubārak friendly Abdulfasilius, quem Sacerdotes, Regis Jonatham solebant appellare Hic filius
 2 erat senis admodum religiosi et studijs commentationum et diuinarum contem-
 plationum ualde dediti, qui minime Mahammedi et ejus libro | fidem habebat
 cuius vestigijs, eius omnes filij insistebant et aperte, ac palam affirmabant,
 multa in Synthemate scripta esse impia, et nefaria, et quæ secum ipsa, maxime
 3 pugnant, quare persuasum habere, non esse librum illum a Deo missum Ac
 senis quidem sapientia et grauitas, | et in Christi religionem, propensio admirationi
 Sacerdotibus erat Librum Evangelij, religiosissime osculabatur et suo capiti impo-

¹ Later addition ² Ist ad se de eius diei lectione referret
³ Ist nam eo est Rex ingenio ut amet postulat appellet et castiget
 iaciatque peccant —The change from the present to the past shows perhaps, that the first draft of
 Monserrate's account was written at the time
⁴ Ist Huic nomen est Xec Hic filius est, senis ualde religiosi libro credit cuius filij insistunt.
 et affirmant multa in Alcorano scripta maxime pugnant.

1 e, servus
 auctor
 Senis non en
 Mubār c 1 e
 benedictus

nebat Sacerdotes intuebatur quasi Angelos, iuuenem eorum interpretem, beatum esse dicebat, qui consuetudine ipsorum frueretur Quid plura? In priuatis, cum Rege colloquijs, nihil habebat antiquius, | quam illorum scientiam, et modestiam commendare

Concerting
with Abu-
Fazl

F 35a 1

Bad news
from Bengal

Lull in the
Saturday dis-
cussions

The Divi-
nity of Christ.

Eloquence
of Abu-I Fazl

and one of
Akbar's phy-
sicians

F 35b 1

The Fa-
thers change
their house
and chapel
to the
Khushboi
-Khāna

F 36a 1

At vero ipsis, cum Abdulfasilio conuenerat, ut ipse ante disputationem, rei con-
trouersæ sententiam, quam tuerentur aut impugnarent, et rationes quibus niterentur,
audiret, ut copiosius, || et ornatius, repugnantibus responderet, quod multis quidem
in disputationibus, at in quadam, maxima cum laude, ut pene Christianus uideretur,
præstitit Erat dies Sabbathi disputationibus assignatus Verum quoniam, allato
tristi nuntio, ex Gangaride ora, quod Patanæi transfugæ, eius prouinciæ *præsidentem¹

pro Rege, uictores interfecissent Rex, | eo quod rumore uulgi circumferretur, ipsum
Christianis rebus, nimium fauere, non nihil, de studio audiendi sacra remiserat, nec
se conueniri sinebat Data occasione, quædam ex Euangelio, in Persicum sermonem
conuersa, Sacerdotes tradiderunt Quæ cum coram se perlegi, accitis aliquot
magistris, imperasset instituta est, de Filio Dei | disceptatio Ac cum de modo, ac

ratione diuinæ generationis decertaretur, illius spiritum, diuinus quidam (ut videbatur)
ardor numinis afflauit, et tam luculenter, quonam pacto, nos assereremus Deum
habere Filium explicauit, ut ipsi Sacerdotes vehementer admirarentur, ac non solum
Rodolfus, in eius sententiam iret, uerum etiam, adhibita | fusiore explicatione collau-
daret et ex aduersarijs quidam dicerent, eo modo credi posse, Deum habere Filium

Ac cum, ad eius mortem, et passionem, deducta esset controuersia et quæreretur,
cur eo genere mortis, passus esset se interfici? alius quidam eodem numinis spiritu

afflatus, respondit || sibi insita bonitate, id sustinuisse, cum alijs multis modis,
potuisset nos, in libertatem asserere Ac ubi Rodolfus, accurate de duabus naturis,
in Christo cohærentibus disputauit Rex assensione facta, plausum dedit aduersarij
tristes conticuerunt Porro Abdulfasilius, ita erat, in nostram religionem animatus
ut se, quoties in | *ædiculum² ingrederetur, animo intus commoueri affirmaret secus
quam, cum in suum templum *ingrediebatur,³ sibi que persuadere, cœleste quiddam,
et diuinum, in nostris templis inesse

Cæterum, cum sparsus ille rumor, immodicæ Regis beneuolentiæ, erga Sacerdotes,

impedimento fore uideretur quominus Regem possent conuenire ex re, et ex | tempore,
consilium ceperunt, ut domicilium in quo agebant, cum alio commutarent, quod
interiecto tantum pariete, a Regia distabat Qui si *perforaretur et, facta janua,
patefieret iter⁴ sese mutuo, et secreto conueniendi, aperiret Vbi *Regi rem, et⁵
qua mente ducerentur, significarunt è uestigio, iussit unguenta, et odores, et aquæ |

odoriferæ quam plurima uascula, efferri et in alium locum deportari, nam eo in
domicilio, et componebantur, unguenta, et seruabantur à quo nomen habebat locus¹

Theca unguentaria Ipso loco, Sacerdotes commonebantur, illius sententiæ, Christi
bonus odor sumus Itaque loco repurgato, et ex eorum sententia, locis aliquot
reparato, ac triclinijs aucto, eo commigrarunt, quo propediem, se uenturum, Rex
significauit

¹ 1st pretorem

⁴ 1st perfoderetur, facta janua, iter

² 1st oraculum

³ 1st ingrederetur

⁵ 1st rem, et

I m
relysq
qui pe
erat ing
probus
batur

Co r
ghana
odori
mus

Et cum Christi natalitia instarent, ea dies dicta est, rogatu ipsorum, qua erat

2 Rex | ad eos uenturus. Sacellum itaque senecis, et attalicis auleis ornarunt, specum
 Christmas in qua Christus natus et praesepe, in quo, a matre est reclinatus, et montem, in quo
 1550 pastores excubias agebant, paruis statu, ad ueritatem pene, imitando adduxerunt.

Akbar at Quo spectaculo Rex et pauci ex sibi charioribus, quos secum introduxit, mirifice
 the crib

3 delectati sunt | Ac ubi circumspexit singula, cum de Christi natiuitate incidisset
 Conflicting sermo Rodolfus, a magistris quesuit, quoniam pacto, duo loci secum pugnantes, in
 te's in the the Qeran "Diceret conciliarentur? In altero enim legebatur, Christum non esse uere mortem,

1 a Iudaeis passum, sed alium pro eo et Nestorianis consentit in alio, Deum illi se
 1 ore propitium | in natiuitate morte, et resurrectione spondidisse. Si enim mori-

turus non erat, quid expectaret in morte? Quodsi mortuus est, id accepit, quod
 F 36b. 1 Propheti quidam praedixit. "Si posuerit animam suam videbit semen || longaeuum,

Isaia 53

et uoluntas Dei, in manu eius dirigetur." Rursus si mortuus non est, non sane
 reuixit, quod si non reuixit, uana fuit diuina promissio. Oportet igitur, ut stabiliatur
 promissio. Christum reuixisse quod si reuixit oportuit aliquandiu uita caruisse.

quod si uita caruit, non sibi constat uester propheta qui modo ait, Christum mor-

2 tuum, esse, modo idipsum negat. *et necessario efficitur, falso asserere alium pro
 eo necatum. Christum uero minime. Quodsi deprehendatur mendax, Dei propheta,

non est existimandus. Hec Rodolphi ratiocinatio, miseros homines ita percudit, ut
 in eodem solo adhuc harent. Nec enim adducto libro, et eius interpretibus |

3 nonnullis sese hac argumentatione, *extricare potuerunt. Obiecit praeterea Rodol-

phus egregium uatem incestam uenerem, *execrandi abusus, quodam loco quem
 Unnatural citant admittere. Consultitur codex, ueritas comperitur. Nam quidam inficiabantur
 vice Qua composita rubore perfusi, quidam mirari, quidam dicere, quod propheta ita

4 docuerit satis, esse nec debere reprehendi. At cum argutulus quispiam, illa per
 anagogen dicti accipienda esse, diceret, occurrit Rodolfus nullam ibi, esse posse

F 37a 1 dicto anagogram, cum orationis illud membrum, superioris sententiae, etyologia
 esset. "Nam inquit, "si haec in beatitudinis sede, desiderarentur non esset

perfecta beatitudo." Vespere Rex filios suos ad spectaculum praesepe misit, quo

pueri, ualde recreati sunt.
 Quiet secur- ed The wri- ters change their quar- ters

Quoniam uero uicinia scribarum illis impedimento erat, quo minus, absque
 tumultu domi agerent, ob clamores frequentis multitudinis hominum, quibus erant

2 cum scribis negotia | alio scribas commigrare, eorum gratia, ipsis inscijs, et nihil
 opinantibus, imperauit.

Fama uero, pulchritudinis signi, Beatae Virginis, ita peruulgata est, ut uident
 Babu Ma- rian I. I. eius causa, frequentes, tum Agareni, tum gentiles, et hi quidem cum domis, in sacel-
 lum uentitarent. Qua conspecta, palmis ad caelum sublatis, eam uenerabantur, et

3 salutabant. Cetera si pares sint, uel hoc sane, illis Christianis | qui nouis rebus
 student, *καὶ εὐνοίας ἀποτίθησιν, ^b meliores existunt.

Ceterum ea quam diximus, a Rege, de eorum scientia, atque integritate, concepta
 Peppring opinio ne sterilis, et uana, nihil ferret, in animum induxerunt suum, libere omnia,

Akbar for a gladiato- rial shows,

1 1st Alcorano

2 1st et alium pro eo necatum fuisse, necessario efficitur, falso asserere

et Christum minime fuisse necatum.

1st expedire.

* 1st neglecti sexus

^b In original καὶ ηὐνοιαστικὴς οὖσι

- 4 quæ uituperanda essent, reprehendere, quare sæpissime, negligentiam, et tarditatem, in addiscendis rebus diuinis, modeste quidem, et explorato, quomodo esset animo affectus, coarguerunt Et cum ad gladiatorios ludos spectandos, *eos¹ inuitasset se non posse morem gerere responderunt Parceret proinde Interrogauit, "Qua de caussa?"—"Quoniam (inquiunt) abhorret, a Christiana disciplina, atque moribus,
- F 37b 1 "hominum carnificinam *exercere ac eam² || spectare, eumque qui gladiatorios ludos "ederet, *scelus nefarium facere³ Quodsi se, armorum exercitatione ludicra, oblectare "uellet, acumina iuberet ensibus adimi et gladiatores, thoraces, et galeas induere, et "peltas, in sinistra gestare, quibus possent, ictus absque uitæ discrimine, accipere "
- 2 Probauit quidem admonitionem, et religionis | sanctitatem, est admiratus Modus digladiandi, Mongolorum est, ut ad concentum, quattuor parium tympanorum decer- tent, quorum par primum, cantum ductat, alter grauem sonum, tertium exilem uocem edit, quartum, graui ex aduerso, elato sono modulatur
- Consueuerunt *Brachmanorum⁴ (qui genere nobiles ac clari sunt) uxores genti-
- 3 litia per | manus tradita consuetudine, in eodem rogo, cum uiris mortuis exuri Ad
- b Satī, huius spectaculum rei, Sacerdotes ignaros, accersiri iussit quo cum uenissent, et quid rei gereretur, comperissent feritatem, atque agrestem immanitatem facinoris, uultus tristitia reprehendentes, tandem Rodolfus Regem, quod publice sua præ-
- 4 sentia, immane facinus | comprobaret, et grauissimo suo iudicio, atque sententia confirmaret (dicebat enim, eam fortitudinem, a Deo *emanare⁵) palam reprehendit
- Bhagwān Quod quidem, qua erat in eos beneuolentia, æquo animo tulit nec amplius, ut ad id Dās? spectaculum iret, a quodam Regulo, quem adhibebat familiarissime, genere Brach-
- F 38a 1 mana, et sacrorum Rege adduci potuit Has || mulierculas, ut omni doloris sensu careant, medicamentis quibusdam, oppio præsertim, vel herba soporifera (quæ banguē dicitur, canabique quam similis est) vel, quod usitatius est, duturone herba, Indis cognita, Europæis, ac ueteribus prorsus ignota consopiant omnino vel semi-
- sopitas, adhuc tamen nonnihil sibi constantes, monitis, et precibus, ac proposita |
- 2 æterni nominis gloria, inducunt ut sese in rogam præcipientes dedant Quod si cunctentur, miseras impellunt, si exire contendunt, contis, et uncis in flammam adigunt At vero qui aderant optimates cum rem uituperarent, nec auderent Regi contradicere, inutuo uellicarunt "Apage, atra ueste Franci," dicunt Et hoc quidem tota ciuitate, cum summa | laude, et admiratione, quod ausi essent Franci, Regem eius rei admonere, peruulgatum est
- 3
- c profil- Occurrit aliquando illis grex quidam nebulonum *catamitorum,⁶ ex eorum contu- gates in wo- bernio, qui se ut foeminae comunt, et ornant Quare, ut par est, uehementer offensi, men's dress, ut primum nacti sunt copiam, Regem summa cum autoritate, quoniam caussa illis |
- 4 fauebat, priuatim increparunt "Mirari se, quod id hominum genus, in suo regno, "nedum in sua ciuitate, ac pene in oculis, agere permetteret quod esset tanquam maxi-
- F 33b 1 "ma perniciēs, in ultimas terras amandandum, ne dicerent potius, flaminis uoracibus "absumendum Et vix || se, fidem unquam fuisse habituros, cuiquam qui huiusmodi "homines, reperiri dixisset, in curia, et in regia ciuitate, in qua ipse ageret, qui pietate,

1 ist fratres

4 ist Bragmanorum

2 Later addition

5 ist permanere

5 ist in Deum uehementissime peccare.

6 Later addition

Shāh Man-
sūr twice con-
victed of high
treason

Xamans
r115

quem Rex, ad altissimum dignitatis gradum, ex infima, et abiecta conditione, euex-
erat et suarum facultatum, summum curatorem constituerat Hic cum iniu-
riam, quam suo prophetæ fieri existimabat, sibi reliquisque | Agarenis, impatibilem
iudicaret, et religionibus stimulatus (nam qui prophetæ non dant fidem, et contradicunt,
e medio tolli iubentur) defectionem est meditatus et ubi non paucos, in suam
defectionis sententiam adduxit ad Mirsachimum *Zelaldini¹ fratrem qui Chabuli
regnabat, et Agarenicam superstitionem *arcte tenebat accurateque defendebat,²
litteras scripsit, in hanc sententiam | "Hominem esse segnem, et suæ legis parum
"amantem, qui amplissimi regni obtinendi, et ulciscendæ, aduersus exleges, Maham-
"medicæ iniuriæ, occasionem nactus, cessaret Certior esset, se *plurimos³ habere,
"qui si bellum, cum impio fratre suscipiat, ad *eum⁴ transfugiant, se, eorum esse
F 40a 1 'antesignanum Nec dubitaret, quin, ubi castra castris conferrentur, || frater perim-
"eretur a se, uel alio qui id facilius, et tutius transigere posset Nam multos, ex
"fratris familiaribus, secum conspirasse Quo facto, sine sanguine, uictoria poti-
"retur" Quas quidem litteras, cum pluribus exemplis scripsisset unum est exem-
plum interceptum, et ad Regem perlatum qui proditione perspecta, hunc in libe-
2 rali custodia seruari iussit, | et ad fratrem ut conquiesceret, nisi priuari Regno uellet
scripsit Post mensem, commemoratis beneficijs, proditorem, obiurgatum dimitti
iussit, et in pristinum munus restituit eo quod, acri esset ingenio, ad negotia pera-
genda, et quod multitudine fretus, suarum copiarum, nihil fratrem ipse pertimesceret
3 At vero, eos quos *ex catalogo authoratorum | proditorum, qui penes Xamansurum
erat, conspirasse⁵ deprehendit, secreto obiurgauit, et missos, in uarias regiones, ita
disiunxit, ut conuenire, et simul esse, non possent Hac diligentia, oppressam esse
coniurationem, rex natura simplex, et syncerus existimauit at uero dum hæc gere-
bantur, semper, aut gladium, aut telum aliquod gestabat Sacerdotes uero, in magno
4 discrimine | uersabantur Enimuero Xamansurus (hoc enim erat nomen, coniurato-
rum duci) nihilo melior uenia, et impunitate, atque beneficijs factus, coniurationem
ijsdem artibus, quibus cœperat, fouebat Nam iterum ad Mirsachimum, in eandem |
F 40b 1 sententiam scripsit (quod Regem minime latuit) et quod instituerat, diligenter præ-
stabat Atque ut hominum animos, a Rege abalienaret, plurimum laboris, et operæ
impendebat Instituto Tartarorum, uis exercitus, tota est in equitatu, qui omnis, ex
disciplina Cinguscani, a quo Zelaldinus genus ducit, in hunc modum distribuitur, ut
2 decuriones centurionibus, | hi chiliarchis, chiliarchæ myriadam tribunis, pareant
Cum uero recensiones habentur, ad stipendium soluendum equitibus, ex fide tantum,
eorum, qui reliquis præsent, recognitio fieri consueuit Hic igitur proditor, Regi
persuasit, se ab ijs fraudari, eo quod, non tot haberent equites, quot in nominibus
3 proferebant sed pro equitibus | pedites, eosque domesticos scribere, oportere, ut
fraudi occurreretur, singulos, cum singulis equis, præsto adesse et equis signum inuri,
iuberet: quod si moreretur equus, caudam afferri, ne commodati ab amicis notaren-
tur, prohiberetque, alium eius loco scribi, illumque, sine sua facultate uendi Dein-
4 de, de stipendijs equitum, et decurionum, cæterorumque minui Hac | techna, cum

¹ 1st eius

² 1st accurate colebat.

³ 1st plures

⁴ 1st se.

⁵ 1st in nominibus, conspirasse

F 41a 1 suis rebus, Rex consuli existimaret illum improbus ueterator, quasi exercitatus pugil, supplantare ac deicere contendebat Nam utrumque, iniquissime Mongoli tulerunt, "usque eo" ut in prouincia Gangaride, praesidem facto impetu || necarent, et toto regno, omnium ordinum homines, Regi succenserent, et eum tyrannidis accusarent, quod unum restabat ut omnes merito, atque optimo iure, pro religione, atque libertate, contra Regem decertare, honorificum, et utile iudicarent Cum hi rumores increbrescerent, Sacerdotes Regem adierunt, ut eius animum explorarent (suboluerat enim, Regem poenitere, quod eos accersiuisset) num | rerum perturbatione commotus, uellet eos dimittere At ille, tantum aberat, ut ea de re cogitaret, ut eis, patriae desyderium, obijceret, et exprobraret qui quidem longissime, ab ea cogitatione, distabant solumque animo afficiebantur, quod otiosi, in ea re, cessare iudicarentur, cuius | caussa, in longinqua regione exularent Porro Xamansuri proditio, et noui conatus, ad Regem perlati sunt secundo Qua de caussa, hominem iterum, ab honore quaesturae, Rex exclusit, et a gubernaculis, rei suae pecunariae repulit, ac custodiae tradidit

Shāh Man-
sūr in prison
Mirzā Ha-
kim invading
the Panjāb

4 At Mirsachimus, comparato exercitu quindecim millium equitum Mongolorum Indum, Bydaspem, Sandabalumque, | annos latissimos, et rapidissimos, atque Adrim, qui Lahorum opulentissimam, et amplissimam urbem, a septemtrione alluit, nec

Yusuf s brave
standat Roh-
tas

F 41b 1 multo est alijs inferior, mira confidentia, et securitate traiecit et castra iuxta Lahorum posuit Nam cum Ruytasi arcem, Iosephus praetor teneret, nec paruisset eius imperio, arcem a se reposcentis, quod eam sibi diceret, a fratre ipsius traditam, nec posse, nisi depulsum ac uictum cedere, nihil ueritus, à tergo hostes relinquere, ultra

Mān Singh
defends La-
hore

2 perrexit Suis edixerat, ne cui iniuriam facerent neue agros uastarent, et Lahori municipes, securos esse iussit Praetorem per legatos, ad deditionem, et ut arce

M Hakim s
tardy regrets

3 cederet, "inducebat a quo idem responsum *tulit" | Et cum itineris, et suscepti belli, poenitere coepit quod intelligeret, ex uiris principibus neminem, a fratre defecisse nec eos nebulones, qui se acciuissent, promissis stare, cum nulla auxilia, ad se uenirent formidare fratris potentiam, qui copijs, multo erat superior, sumptus in bellum, "perperam uana futilitate summaque leuitate" factos dolere, commeatus

Fa r i d ū n
Khān, his
evil genius

4 difficultatem | uereri, existimare pedem referri oportere Faridumcani tantum, magistri militiae, qui inimicitias, cum Zelaldino gerebat, uiri quidem strenui, et bellis gerendis, industrii atque experientis, cohortationibus confirmabatur Verum cum ab exploratoribus intellexit, omnia esse pacata, nec ullos esse motus, fratrem rei

4 certiore factum, minime commoueri, nec castra facere, | tantique eum aestimare quanti aquila culicem (dissimulabat enim Zelaldinus, caussam se nosse, aduentus ipsius, et ut se salutarent mutuo, per legatos agebat eo consilio ut eum, uicinioribus castris, intercluderet, ne effugium esset) et uenationem indixisse, ac Regium tabernaculum || eduxisse, magnis itineribus, fugam capessit, atque in Sandabalis uado, quod F 42a 1 ponte, et nauigijs destituerentur, et nando amnem traicere cogerentur, quadringenti equites, quos annis absumpsit, ex eius copijs desyderati sunt Ferebatur totidem fere,

Back to Kā-
bul

1 Late- addition

4 1st acceptit.

6 1st esset

* Later addition

5 1st futiliter

1st sollicitabat

6 1st esset At uero, ubi rumore perlatum est Zelaldinum fratrem uenationem indixisse

in traiectu Bydaspis, atque Indi desyderatos fuisse, infœlici exitu belli, infœlici omne

2 aduersus | Christi potissimum religionem, suscepti

Oncoming
storm Shāh
Mansūr re-
leased

Et exoptasset quidem Mirsachimus, ut hæc infortunia, finem nefario, bello imposuissent verum ultra cum eius magno malo, deductum est Nam Zelaldinus magnus, his iniurijs laceratus, Xamansurum astute solui iussit, condonans secundo eandem noxam, ut patefactam omnino prodicionem, | illi occultaret, ac potius insinua-

'Aziz Koka
to keep Ben-
gal in check

aret, se suspicionibus, ac rumoribus ductum, ipsum coniecisse in vincula re autem ipsa, illi exitium, et in fratrem bellum meditabatur Quod, ut cum consilio gereret,

4 symbolo, quo Temurus claudus, gentilitatis horum regum author, in bellis uti solebat, profectus, breui fuis hostibus, et in deditionem acceptis, aut certe interfectis, bellum

F 42b 1

The Kābul
campaign de-
cided

confecit Rex uero, tum ne uideretur, suis copijs, in suo regno fratrem circumuenisse, et sine bellica laude oppressisse, eo quod multis partibus, fratrem sua equestrium acie, superaret dempto gregario peditatu, qui erat prope infinitus, tum etiam, quo par pari referret, quoniam Mirsachimus, ad Lahorum excurrisset, ipse | 2 Chabulum ueniret, et in fratris regno, manus cum eo consereret, qui bellum sua sponte, ad se acciuisset et dormientem, ut aiunt, canem excitasset fugientem pone sequi constituit

The Jesuits
offer their
services

Cum uero jam in procinctu esset, ad eum Sacerdotes uenerunt, et se peroptare, comites esse laboris, et itineris exposuerunt, si id sibi gratum foret Respondit se

3 gratiam habere, esseque | sibi satis exploratam atque perspectam eorum uoluntatem, verum in ea esse sententia, ut existinaret, uiros religiosos, et tranquillitati, atque otio literario, et diuinis meditationibus deditos, non debere, ab ea dulcedine abstrahi, propterea se, matri suæ, eam curam imposuisse, ut perhumane, et benigne eos accipe-

, A's mother

4 ret | Quare eos exorare, ut æquo animo acciperent, et pro se orarent Responderunt

F 43a 1

Monserrate
selected

Sacerdotes, ' se in ea cogitatione curaue versari ' ac quamuis | magno eius desyderio tenerentur, quoniam ita iubebat, se libenter parituros At cum forte fortuna, postridie eius diei, filij sui præceptorem, in literaria pergula, offendisset "Parate," inquit, "Pater, ad iter nam mecum es profecturus" Et ad com meatum omnia dari, quam citissime, imperauit

2 Itaque more suo uenationem indixit, et regium | tabernaculum efferni, et quarto ab urbe lapide, figi imperauit Rebus ita compositis, ut Nicopoli mater, cum Danialo nepote, filio suo, natu minimo maneret Gangaridi prouinciæ, Agiscocanus præesset

The mus-
ter Pruden-
tial measures
A's mother

Qutb-ud-dīn
Khān

Gedrosiæ Cutubdicanus, quibus mater imperaret, et Indico, vel Delinico regno præsideret in præsidij Gedrosiæ, decem | millia equitum, cum matre duodecim

'Aziz Koka

3 millia reliquit At * Agiscocano cum uiginti millibus Gangaridis bellum gerendum dedit Quem sequuti sunt, quattuor, quinque duces, cum copijs, sex milium, quinqueue, aut saltem quattuor millium equitum, præter pedites, et uulgus operarum

4 Singulas item principes ciuitates, necessario præsidio muniuit | Filium natu maximum, secum ire iussit, et secundum ac Sacerdotem ipsius institutorem * Infan-

salīm &
Murād to ac-
company

1 ist satrapam

2 ist dicitur

3 ist eam curam, eorum animis semper obuersari

4 ist Agiscocanus, cum uiginti millibus, expeditionem Gangaridis suscepit

tem filiolam¹ cum aua Nicopoli reliquit Uxores paucas, ex præcipuis, et filias² *adolescentes² secum deduxit Magnam uim auri, et argenti, supellectilemque plurimam, elephantis, et camelis euehi, et || exportari præcepit

F 43b 1

Parting of friends

Quo die primum iter aggressus est, eum mater est prosequuta, et in castris fixo candido tabernaculo, magnæ amplitudinis, cum filio biduo est commorata Sacerdotes itidem sodalem, ad castra deduxerunt, et in castris cum eo biduo etiam *constiterunt³

The Mo-ghul camp

F 44a 1

F 44b 1

Shāh Mansūr to accompany

2

The start Hunting

Castra uero, *ex more maiorum,⁴ Rex metari iubebat *Vetus autem mos est⁵ ut regia, | tabernacula (quæ ab illis Pexqhanaa dicuntur, hoc est anterior domus) in amœno, et amplo campo, si detur, ponantur In dextro cornu, Regi proxima filij natiu maximus, et procerum, qui ei attributi sunt In sinistro, alterius filij, et optimatum, qui illi sunt assignati At in posteriore acie, reliqui filij, natiu minores, si adsint, et | eorum familiæ, eodem ordine, tabernacula figunt Quod si filij absint a castris proceres dextrum, et sinistrum cornu, ac posteriorem aciem, illi Regi proximi occupant, qui sunt cæteris, aut dignitate, aut regis beneuolentia, et fauore præstantiores Hos sequuntur reliquæ phalanges, quæ quo propius possunt, ad suos quosque duces, et | centuriones accedunt, fixis iuxta illos tabernaculis Ac ne tabernaculorum multitudine, castra coarctentur, per contubernia distribuuntur Forum uenale Regis, et principum filiorum ac reliquorum *optimatum,⁶ iuxta suum quemque ducem statuitur, et regium quidem, et filiorum || amplissima sunt, et copiosissima, non solum abundantia rei frumentariæ, et cibariorum, sed omnium mercium, ut non in castris, sed in opulentissima ciuitate, agere uideantur eandemque semper habere formam existimes ut cum per dies aliquot, in ijs quispiam, fuerit uersatus, facili negotio, per hæc fora, quasi per vias, quo | libuerit, deducatur Forum urdu nominant Cum itur, bellica tormenta, in fronte castrorum, pro uestibulo, atque *aditu⁷ aulæ, quasi in prima acie, collocantur in latissimo campo, erant autem octo et uiginti, castrensia tormenta, sed ad quatiendos muros inepta, quorum maximum hemisphæram (ut uulgus militare ait) non | æquabat, quo in loco, noctu, in fastigio, *præcelsi mali,⁸ fax inflammata sustollitur, quæ oberrantibus præluceat, et quam omnes petant, si quis tumultus in castris oriatur, et ad eam, quasi ad cor, et caput confluant At cum reditur, in extrema acie, a tergo aulæ figuntur Ac Rex biuis utitur tabernaculis, eiusdem formæ, atque | magnitudinis, quæ alternis itineribus permutantur . ut unum præferatur, in altero habitet quibus aulæ sunt || pro parietibus, et uestibulum, a reliqua habitatione distinguunt quam ambitione magna, circumsepiunt Et Rex quidem, tecto utitur, quasi urbana domo, in quod per gradus ascenditur Ac castrorum quidem metandorum ratio sic habet

Enimuero, ne quid noui Xamansurus, in perniciem regni, quod matri curas augetet, | moliretur, ut se sequeretur, imperauit Atque sexto Idus Februarij, pri-

1581 10

num castra mouit Postridie uenari, suo more instituit Edicatur uero, ut nemo, in eam partem feratur, quo Rex iter habeat, tum, ut multitudinem fugiat, et proditiōi, præcipiat

1 1st infantulam

2 Later addition

3 Later addition

4 1st magnatum

5 1st oblonge pertuæ.

6 1st uersati sunt.

7 Later addition

8 Later addit on

9 1st hoc ordinæ

10 1st adytum

Urdu, nos
trates scrib-
unt urda 7

ocasionem, tum etiam, ne hominum tumultu, bestiae fugentur Et | bestiae quidem, praeter caeruleam bouem, eadem sunt, atque Europae Caerulea bos persimilis, est ceruo, sed capitis, et reliqui corporis magnitudine, dispar Ac quod canibus venaticis, gallicis, atque Alanis regio destituta sit, innumeras prope pantheras,

*Nilasae
caerulea bos 1*

4 immodicis sumptibus alit, quae a nutritijs, equo impositae, clausis oculis | ne in obuium quemque insiliant, loco ubi pascitur bestia, fame prope enectae inuehuntur Aucupio autem haud multum delectatur Jubet tamen aues plurimas, ab aucupibus, ||

F 45a 1 dignitatis ostentandae caussa, pugno efferrī, et ut sumptui parcat, cornicibus pasci

Measuring
the road

Caeterum, ut quantum unaquaque die, itineris conficiat decempeda, a metatoribus, qui eum, ubi primum ex aula, pedem effert, pone sequuntur, uiam metiri iubet Qua una opera, et quam late pateant regiones, et quantum loca, mutuo distent, ad
2 *mittendas² | legationes, et *mandata, ac¹ rebus tempore occurrendum, perdiscit Decempedae *ducenta spatia,³ mensura est quam Persica lingua, coroo, uocitant, Indica uero, cos, quae *duo milliaria,⁴ aequat, qua mensura, interualla locorum metiuntur

Posteaquam, eo biduo quo Rex castra ad Nicopolim habuit satis se copiarum

3 habere *iudicauit,⁵ ut tuto, et cum dignitate, iter aggrederetur, | sexto Idus Februarij,

Feb 8, 1581

dato signo sub vesperam castra mouit

The army
on the march

Mos autem, itineris faciendi (ut communia praetermittam haec sunt signa, quae ad pergendum, et ad consistendum dantur) sic habet Intra regni fines, sine ordine,

uniuersus exercitus progreditur praeter paucos, ad quos eius diei, excubiae agenda
4 spectant At uero excubitores, et | custodes, reliquumque satellitium, et equitum manus, instructo in modum *decrecentis lunae agmine, in duo cornua Regem⁶ non longius ab eo disiuncti, quam est lapidis iactus sequuntur Hi dum Rex moratur,

F 45b 1 duobus ordinibus in seriem, ab aulae uestibulo, || ad ducentos ferme passus, distincti, altero quidem elephantum, armis, quibus a telorum iniuria, sint tuti, *diligenter⁷ obsectorum, altero, equitum sagittariorum, et pilatorum, leuis armaturae (nam⁸ ferro tectis et munitis⁹ equis ac militibus caret) Regem opperiuntur ac praetereuntem,

2 suo quisque loco, atque ordine salutat facto agmine, | primum equites, deinde elephantem, pone sequuntur Hanc aciem, praecedunt tympanistae, ac tubicines, elephantis uecti, omnes, praeter unum, taciti, qui decimo ferme quoque passu, tympanum, lenta quadam, et ex dignitate *ad numerum percussione pulsant¹⁰ His omnibus praecedunt cursores, qui obuios quosque abigunt At uero uxores elephantibus |

3 foemellis, impositae, tabernaculisque quibusdam *uenustis fastigijs,¹¹ inclusae uehuntur Hos uiri senes, et *aspectus grauitate venerandi,¹¹ adhibita custodia, quingentorum hominum deducunt caueturque, ut eo loco, quo iter faciunt, procul qui occurrunt, abscedant Quod omnes, eo diligentius praestant, quo sunt dignitate potiores |

4 Ancillae, camelis, sub umbraculis candidis, impositae, reginas sequuntur Est etiam statuta custodia, aeterno, quod plurimis elephantibus, ac camelis uehitur Reliqua

F 46a 1 belli impedimenta carris supellex, et ruta || caesa Regis, mulis deportantur Ac cum

1 Later addition

2 Later addition

3 cataphractis.

4 1st imperandas

5 1st bicornis lunae agmine Regem

6 1st lento quadam et ex dignitate pulsu percussit

7 1st aspectu uenerabiles

8 1st centum quinquaginta

9 1st ad amussim

10 1st fastigijs

11 1st sesquimilliarum

- 4 pons pressa mergatur Porro elephantes, transitu prohibiti sunt, ne | molis suæ pon-
dere, fabricam pessumdarent
- Scouting Jam uero ne in occultis insidijs, intercluderetur ubi primum, in alienum regnum
pedem intulit antecursores trecentos præmisit qui duodeviginti passuum millibus,
F 47b 1 omni ex parte, a castris abstracti, || num hostes laterent, an palam aduentarent,
specularentur In angustijs itinerum, in gyrum, præsidia collocabat, et paucorum
hominum labore, vniuersum exercitum, cura, et sollicitudine liberabat,* ut¹ non
minus sese, inter eundum, funderet, et umbras, fontesque captaret, noctu vero securus,
somnum caperet, quam si in patria degeret
- 2 Bellicam | disciplinam, usque adeo coluit, ut nihil impune contra eam, admitti
Discipline sineret Cum ad ripam Indi, castra posuisset, et uadum explorari iussisset, quo ex-
Made an exercitum traduceret cuidam tribuno militum, imperauerat, ut in aduersum flumen, ad
example of locum usque *quem ipse præscripsit,² proficisceretur, tentaretque uadum, num
3 equis *transgressio esse³ posset Qui quum viginti | quinque passuum millia obijisset,
et uado amnem carere comperisset, intellexissetque ab incolis, eadem esse profundi-
tate flumen, in toto eo tractu, quapropter superuacaneum fore laborem, ulterius pro-
grediendi ad Regem redijt, eique renuntiauit, non esse flumini uadum, quo transi-
4 rent copiae, nisi structa ponte Quæsiuit Rex, "Peruenistine | ad imperatum
locum?" A quo cum cognouisset, citra locum constitisse, corripit hominem iussit
F 48a 1 et *ad locum quem imperauerat pertrahi⁴ utri, que ex bouis corio consuto, || pronum
imponi, et uinciri, ac in profluentem proijci Cuius rei rumor, cum per castra, esset
peruulgatus, ad oram fluuij, ut spectaculum hoc nouum uideret, uniuersus pene ex-
ercitus, confluit Ille uero, medio flumine, huc, atque illuc, incerto cursu, lugens,
2 et ueniam implorans, miserabili eiulatu, ut commiserationem moueret, | ferebatur
Quem, ubi aulam est præteruectus, Rex eripi iussit, e fluctibus eius bona scribi, et
eum uoci præconis, per omnia fora subijci, et pro seruo uendi Quem amicus quis-
piam, octoginta nummis aureis, ærario regio solutis, coemit Dedit quidem postea
3 ueniam, sed hoc exemplo, militarem disciplinam, quanti fieri, et quam | suos, dicto
audientes esse uellet significauit
- Strength of Neque uero, tanta multitudo, nisi his artibus, in officio, contineri potest
the force Habito enim delectu, equitum, peditibus exceptis, (qui erant prope innumeri) et
A motley *elephantis camelisque pugnacibus qui erant prope quingenti⁵ quinquaginta millia
army equitum, in hoc bellum acciuit quorum quidam Mongoli, quidam Persæ, Turquimanni
4 alij, Chacattæi, Osbequij, Arachosij, | Balochij, Patanei, Indici, et Gedrosij, tum Aga-
reni, tum etiam gentiles, quibus potissimum confidit His accedebant Parthi plurimi,
et Arii & Paropanisadæ Atque hæc* fuit caussa, cur cum⁶ apud Agarenos, ex-
F 48b 1 legis nomine, atque || fama, male audiat, nemo illi, manus afferre, mortemque audeat
intendere
- Methods of Longe autem alia ratione Persæ, Mongoli, Chacattæi, Osbechij, ac Turquimanni,
warfare alia Gedrosij, alia *Balocij⁷ alia Indici pugnant Nam Gedrosiorum, qui Rasputi,
et Indorum, qui Rati dicuntur, equitatus omnis, humilibus quibusdam equis, qui

¹ In MS et.² 1st præscriptum³ 1st transiri⁴ 1st ad imperatum locum pertrahi⁵ 1st elephantum⁶ 1st est caussa, ut cum.⁷ 1st Balochij

2 uix *cum asinis æquantur¹ | in locum ubi pugnandum, est inuehitur ubi desilientes ex equis ~ hastis quibusdam breuib², quas iacula potius quam hastas dixerim,³ et peltis instructi, aciem, inimicorum expectant Hos dicunt Agaren⁴, scire quidem mori, sed nescire pugnare *Balocij⁵ camelis insident, et arcu, sagittisque bellum gerunt Indici elephantes gubernant, atque ad pugnam impellunt

3 Est uero mira elephantum | multitudo, in castris, et urbibus, ubi Rex commo-
Elephants ratur, quorum robore, et uiribus, ad duas res utuntur Altera est, ad ferendas sar-
cinas, altera ad pugnandum Et sarcinas quidem, ut plurimum, fœminæ uehunt Plerique mares, ad pugnandum assuefiunt, armisque, quibus tuti sint, quibusque

4 lædere queant muniuntur Qui armis exuti, nihilo | sunt infestiores Nam abreptos
F 49a 1 hostes quosdam proboscide, pedibus suis substernunt, et obculcant, *nec prius
incumbere in miseros cessant quam eos obterant ac contundant ~ quosdam uero *in
medium aërem iaciunt,⁶ ut ex casu pereant, quosdam medios discindunt, pede || crus
alterum premendo, proboscide alterum crus, sursum magna ui adhibita, contendendo
Mares quidem, singulis annis, per tres fere menses, præ ferocia ita insanunt, ut suos
interdum curatores interimant, et eo quidem tempore sunt ad pugnam aptissimi
Ferocia deposita, si iterum efferari, ad bellum imminens, opus sit, felis carnibus, ad |
2 uescendum, reliquo pabulo commistis, efficitur Domi, ne noceant, fœminarum soda-
litio compescuntur fœminis enim conspectis animos deponunt Quosdam elephantes
assuefaciunt, tormentis bellicis dorso perferendis,* qui, cum admoto igne ater pulvis
flammatus e tormento cum tonitru erumpit,⁷ minime terrentur, aut calcitrant Hoc
3 modo instructos elephantes, et armatos, quinquaginta, extremam | aciem sequi,
Rex imperauit quos Indi ducebant

Tartar tac-
tics Cæterum Mongolorum, Persarum, *Parthorum, Turcarum, Sogdianorum, Bach-
trarum et Scythicarum uel Tartaricarum omnium ~ nationum, pugnandi ratio eadem
est Qui (ut de singulis taceam) tum infestissime pugnant, cum impensissime fugere
uidentur, atque adeo in tergum conuersi, equo in aduersum admisso, directe

4 *iaculantur ut oculum | figant

Habits of
elephants Et elephantum ea est natura, ut ita uocibus hominum, qui eorum curam habent,
assuescant ut omnia, quæ imperantur, exerceant Nodos soluunt, eosque connect-
unt, rem impellunt, eandem sustollunt, rursus deprimunt, iterumque conuertunt

F 49b 1 laqueos iniiciunt, laqueis eximunt minutissimas ~ stipulas, et æra colligunt Ad
choream instruuntur, et saltant Ad omnia denique se parant *quæ illis imperan-
tur ~ In syluis gregatim degunt, per contubernia, et quasdam ueluti familias, quibus
præest, suæ cuiusque gentilitatis (ut ita dicamus) et familiæ pater, et auctor, cui
reliqua posteritas pareat, quem ducem, in bellis quæ cum alijs elephantibus gerun-
2 tur, sequantur | Cum a uenatoribus petuntur, illius nutu uel terga uertunt, uel
certamen expectant, ille medius, ueluti dux, suis instructus copijs, *quadam cum
insolentia et arrogantia,¹⁰ fertur, ut omnibus qui ad suam aciem accedant, minas
intendere uideatur Huc atque illuc, lento quodam passu, spatia fremebundus

1 1st asinos altitudine æquant

4 1st obteruntque ac comminuunt

7 1st et vicinarum.

2 1st lanceolis quibusdam breuib²

5 1st altissime eraculantur

8 1st eraculantur

10 1st quadam cum arrogantia et insolentia.

5 1st Balochij

5 1st quæ cum discluduntur

9 Later addition.

- 3 facit, | ac illi soli parcat, qui pastum sibi, et familiæ * parat ¹ Nam huiusmodi ele-
phantum contubernia, in nemoribus ali, quasi boum armenta, Zelaldinus curat,
atque tum spectaculi præbendi caussa, tum etiam ut optimos quosque seligat, ad se
4 adduci iubet Greges uero sunt, fere uiginti capitum, diuersa | corporum statura, et
cornuum *magnitudine,² pro cuiusque ætate Qui demisso sunt, ad clunes, dorso,
et cruribus, atque collo firmi optimi habentur *Edere partum elephantes post
octauum mensem, nonnunquam post sextum et decimum senis mensibus a matre
nutriri fœminas decimo anno concipere viuere quantum longæui homines quos-
dam etiam ad ducentesimum annum peruenire morbosos esse et incurabiles, Strabo
scripsit, Plinius delectum in belua uires & ætatem et magnitudinem facere ³ *Ar-
mentarij uero ferunt elephantes ad ducentos annos, uiuere, quinquagesimo ad
iustam staturam peruenire, centum annorum, firma esse ætate, ac robore præstare,
F 50a 1 centesimo quinquagesimo senescere ducentesimo, ad finem, et exitum vitæ || per-
uenire ⁴ At uero morbis frequentissime uexantur, febrique laborant Verum, *si
frigore quodam mortifero obrigescant, intra uiginti quattuor horarum spatium,
contabescunt, et moriuntur Ægri gemitus edunt, sese, ut in lecto homines mouent,
lacrymantur, et sibi medicinam fieri permittunt nec ut alia bruta animantia reluc-
2 tantur Fœminæ, mirum | in modum, sunt pauidæ Ignem præcipue, et *æneorum
tormentorum ac fistularum et fulminum⁵ strepitum reformidant et magno impetu
sese in fugam conijciunt ut incautos facile opprimant, et *pessumdent Pusilli,
uix vnus anni suam, exæquant, a decimo anno disciplinæ subduntur Qui ad bella
3 instruuntur, a barbaris, et impijs hominibus, quo in | homines sint efferatior, hu-
manis carnibus pascuntur Sontes, ad illorum pedes proijciuntur Hinc existimo,
ortam esse fabulam, elephantes conspecto sanguine, ad bellum incitari Non enim
magis, conspecto sanguine mouentur, quam si aquam conspiciant Ita educatis, si
ex dorso quis elabatur, aut decidat, cum in illum insilit, mos est hominem proterere,
4 cum existimet, eam ob caussam, sibi ad | pedes accidisse, uel obiectum esse Hoc
discrimine liberatus quidam est, e Sacerdotibus, qui Naruadam fluuium, elephante
coactus *transire,⁶ ignorantia, et desuetudine, cum mora in illum insiliens, prope
periit Flectunt enim se elephantes, *et pede ac poplite ad se ipsos per quosdam
ueluti gradus ascensum parant,⁷ uerum, oportet eos qui ascendunt, quam celerrime
maturare, nam ubi primum, se pedibus premi sentiunt, *ut se erigant conituntur ⁸
F 50b 1 Neque enim articulis, nodisque, et colligationibus, iisdem, in | cruribus carent, quæ
habent, cæteræ quadrupedes, ut quidam ex antiquis, a fallacibus nouarum rerum,
et nugarum, commentatoribus decepti, memoriæ prodiderunt Unum, et alterum
restat, de elephantibus, et id sane admiratione dignum, vix n credi posset, quam
graues inimicitias, mutuo suscipiant, elephantes Nam si duo, aut plures, odio dis-
2 sideant, et sese vicissim | conspiciant, facto impetu, magna ui inuehuntur, et sese

Lib 15

Lib 6,
Cap 19

1 ist subministrat 2 ist crassitie Later addition
3 ist Ducentis annis, ut plurimum, uiuunt quinquagesimo perueniunt centum firma sunt ætate, ac robore
præstant, centesimo quinquagesimo senescunt, ducentesimo perueniunt
4 ist si frigore quodam corripiuntur
5 Later addition. 6 ist obterant. 7 ist traducere. 8 ist et quasi scalam ex sese præbent
10 ist tollunt se, atque erigunt.

collidunt at uero, ductorēs *equitantes,¹ ne conspiciunt quidem, nedum lædant
 Difficile etiam dictu est, *rhinoceros, etsi præ illis pusillæ sint,² quantum timeant,
 et exhorrescant porro, quam insolenter rhinoceros, elephantem contemnat Nam
 3 elephas, conspecta rhinocerote sese | totum, tremebundus flectit, atque demittit,
 proboscidem in os condit, loco cedit, donec transeat rhinoceros restitans, uix fustibus,
 compelli potest, ut gressum moueat Iam uero certamen, cum rhinocerote, uelis
 remisque declinat Nam rhinoceros, sub bestiam, se infert, et naris acuto cornu,
 4 uentrem eius petit, et perforat, cum nihil, ab elephante | lædatur Porro elephas,
 inflexa in os proboscide, dormit murium, & formicarum formidine, at murem præ-
 cipue reformidat Eius est naturæ animalium, quæ aqua delectantur, ut sunt bubali,
 sues, et alia id genus At uero, ut bestia domari, et coerceri posset, Deus naturæ, ac ||

F 51a 1 rerum conditor qui cætera homini, hominem, ut sibi obsequeretur condidit duobus
 membris debilem, et imbecillum elephantem esse uoluit nimirum ipso nexu, nodo-
 que cruris utriusque, nam sui grauitate, *uel resti tantum,³ siprehendatur, maximum
 dolorem bestię renitenti, et calcitranti, id quicquid est uinculi affert quo fit, ut
 2 cathena impedita, in | fouea, tacile teneatur Tum fronte ipsa, atque proboscide nam
 in fronte, quod ualde tenuem, et imbecillam habeat cutem, ægre patitur se pungi,
 quo fit, ut unco impacto facile, a cursu cohibeatur ad quem inhibetur, adhibito
 manubrio quodam, *infixis⁴ clauis instructo, et ad dorsum, magna ui admoto quod
 si furibundus, unco non pareat, uel *obducto oculis ueli operimento,⁵ uel stipite,
 3 quem oblonga cathena | uinctum, *et a domitore humo [im]pactum,⁶ suis pedibus im-
 plicat, coercetur At uero ictus, in proboscide, sub oculis, pedem quam citissime
 refert Ignis item, si admoueatur, Euris ocyor, fuga salutem quærit Eam ob caus-
 sam, in circo, ne quid mali, ab elephantibus Rex pateretur, satellitio hominum cin-
 gebatur, qui gestabant uncos, oblongis *hastilibus præfixos,⁷ et pulueris sulphurei
 4 machinas, | quæ igne concepto, in orbem cum fragore, et strepitu uersantur Hi
 inuadenti elephantī, sese opponebant Quibus etiam instrumentis, elephantum
 pugnas dirimebant At uero in acie, ne ordines equitum, suæ molis metu, pertur-
 bent *equisones equos, elephantibus uidendis, non solum uerum etiam, ad eos

V uir[i]
 p[r]odro-
 mi[?]

Strength of
 the army

Cæterum, ut eo unde sumus digressi, redeamus peditatus omnis, armatura
 uaria instructus, bellum gerit Verum tota uirtus belli in equitatu posita est Quo
 fit, ut magnis sumptibus non parcat, quo integris, quoad eius fieri possit, semper
 2 equitum | copijs, sartum tectum imperium conseruet Nam exceptis legionibus,
 quæ ducibus, tanquam heris iam inde ab auis, et proauis, adhærescunt et equitatu,
 peditatu, elephantibusque constant quibus ipsimet duces, ex uestigalibus prouincia-
 rum, sibi a Rege traditis, stipendia persoluunt quadraginta quinque millibus equi
 3 tum, quinque millibus elephantum, | quamplurimis peditum millibus, stipendia ex
 suo ærario persoluit Veteri enim usu, ac consuetudine comparatum est, ut quæ
 bello acquiruntur, *nemini perpetuo iure,¹⁰ a Rege donentur, sed pro Regis libito,

Feudal sys-
 tem

1 ist inequitant.

2 ist Rhinocerotem etiamsi pusilla sit.

3 ist uel tenui funicul.

4 ist præfixis

5 ist iniecto, ante oculos operimento

6 Later addition

7 ist contis infixos

8 ist hos 'Equisones' cannot be found in the best dictionaries. I propose 'agasones' = grooms

9 Later addition Indistinct

10 ist Regi cedant prorsus omnia, nec in perpetuo iure

prouinciæ administrandæ, *primarijs uiris,¹ aliquo imposito uestigali, quod Regis
 4 ærario accedat, tradantur | Illi vero, legionarijs suis, municipia, oppida, et pagos
 distribuunt, atque, uel assignatis agris, stipendia, uel ex uestigalibus persoluant
 Nam diligenti cura, datur a Rege opera, ut unicuique, eæ prouinciæ assignentur, quæ
 F 52a 1 ijs copijs quæ || illi parent, satis sint, ad honeste, et sine penuria transigendum ut,
 habenti duas legiones, copiosior prouincia assignetur, quam ei qui unam tantum habet
 Retinent uero antiquum suorum maiorum* morem qui in phalanges milites diuide-
 bant, et suæ quisque phalangis militibus imperabant² *Hæ phalanges Persice dicuntur
 lascâr ac quoniam unicuique phalangis tribuno suum est forum uenale, illæ Vrdu
 vel, ut nostrates dicunt, ordæ Tart[arice] vocantur et tribuni uocabulo denomi-
 nantur, veluti si dicamus Mancini vrdu vel orda, Mancini phalanx Itaque, cum
 regionum, urbes, et agri, *ad regem deueniant,³ et uniuersæ copiæ, illi tanquam
 2 summo imperatori pareant | plerique tamen milites, suos habent duces, quibus jam
 inde a progenitoribus, et auis, ut supra demonstratum est, obsequuntur Quæ res
 non modicam occasionem et ansam coniurationibus et proditiionibus præbet Quam
 ob causam, ne *duces⁴ potentia sua freti, insolescant, ubi intelligit, facultatibus
 3 auctos, ex prouinciarum uestigalibus esse *eos,⁵ ad se accersit, ijsque, quasi | seruis,
 multa imperat, quæ cum priori gradu, ac dignitate minime consentiunt Nam curam
 illis mandat, aliquot elephantes, equos, camelos, pantheras, damas, et columbas
 alendi quæ ad se, singulis annis,* ad dictam diem⁶ adducant Dimissos iterum, ad
 prouincias administrandas, non sinit, diu uno loco consistere Ac ne potentia abu-
 4 tantur, | et ut certior fiat, quonam illi pacto se gerant iudices, et prætores urbium,
 et municipiorum, ab ipso constituuntur

Mathura Sed jam *ad iter quod inijt⁷ redeamus A Fattepuro, quarto die Maturanum
 F. 52b 1 uentum est urbem, iam ab eo tempore conditam, quo || *Brachmanarum superstitiosa
 Krishna religio in has regiones inducta est,⁸ et a Crustnu, qui alio nomine, Viznu dicitur, con-
 dita fuisse creditur, aut certe, dubium non est, quin ortus, in suburbio, prope eam
 urbem sit Nam plerisque in locis, agri Maturanensis, delubra uisuntur, Viznu
 dicata, illis locis exædificata, in quibus, aliquid ab eo gestum, aniles quædam, et
 2 ineptæ fabulæ | narrant Sunt uero hæc fana (melius dixerim profana) opere Indico,
 forma pyramidum, concinne satis constructa quibus, uersus ortum solis, ostia
 posita sunt ut cum primum, sydus exoritur, simulachri faciem, sua luce perfundat

Ac gentiles omnes, totius Indiæ, Crustnu quasi Deum colunt Et Para Bramæ
 3 (quem Para | Maessurem, hoc est Deum immortalem, dicunt) filium fuisse affirmant,
 et fratres habere, Maessurem, et Brámam, sororemque Sethim, quæ sine matre, ex
 Indian my- fronte Para Maessuris, nata sit et Maessuri nupserit, ut Juno Joui Nam ne à se
 thology malus dæmon, omnino dissideret, similem Deorum generationem, Indicæ antiquitati,
 4 in animos | induxit illi, quam stolidæ, nostratum priscorum hominum, uetustati per-

¹ ist magnatibus

² ist qui factionibus diuisi, suæ factionis quisque militibus imperabat (sic)

³ Later marginal addition The note ran first Hæ factiones dicuntur lascar, ac quoniam unicuique factionis uel cunei tribuno suum erat forum uenale assignatum, huiusmodi cunei Vrdu vel ut nostrates dicunt, ordæ dicebantur, quas tribuni uocabulum denominabat, veluti si dicamus Mancini Vrdu vel orda, factio vel cuneus Mancini

⁴ ist regis sint.

⁵ Later addition

⁶ ist ad indictum tempus

⁷ ist ad expeditionem

⁸ ist Brachmanarum superstitio, illis regionibus inducta est

suasit Saturnum enim, dicebant ueteres, genuisse Jouem, Neptunum, et Orcum, atque ex eius cerebro, prodixisse Mineruam Hoc tamen interest quod nostrates poetæ, hæc nomina tribuebant cælo, et elementis, et ad elementa affectis rebus || isti, communes quasdam notiones esse dicunt, quæ in intellectu hærent, ut Athenienses qui resurrectionem nouam quandam deam, et D Paulum, nouorum huiusmodi, deorum, annuntiatorem putarunt, aut Manichæi, qui elementa quinque rerum, a se conficta, deos dicebant Ac cum unum, ab alio dimanare, et ueluti catenarum anulos vicissim sibi succedere | opinarentur, unum ex alio nasci, cogeantur fateri cum uero cohærere, et simul quasi conuenire dicerent, matrimonio iungi, ineptissime fabulabantur

*Pluto
Orcus* ¹

Act ¹⁷

Krishna's
avatārs

Atque ut Crustnu parentem, et fratres omittamus eum *noues¹ natum, Indorum, ac Brachmanarum magistri tradunt *Primo,² ceti forma, ut fratrem Bramâ, a coclea marina liberaret, | quæ eum deglubebat *Secundo,³ testudinis, ut orbem duorum gigantum, pondere *inclinantem ac propendentem⁴ sustineret Tertio *lutulenti⁵ suis, ut orbem *conspurcatum emundaret⁶ Quarto, leonis specie infra umbilicum, supra uero umbilicum hominis, ut gigantem necaret, *a quo orbis crudeli domi-
nato premebatur⁷ Quinto, hominis pusilli similitudine, qui quasi mendicus | stipem rogaret Sexto, personam induit uiri fortissimi, qui ut in lucem editus est, in cælum euolauit Septimo, in uentre latuit, cuiusdam opilionis, qui lacte quæstum faciebat, e cuius tandem utero expositus, torques vitreas, et anulos uenditauit, ut *sceleratissime insidiosissimeque⁸ posset patrum interimere, quem confecit Octauo, personam

*Ea coclea
ab incolis
Comarinæ
oræ chan-
dicatur: cui
olim antea-
quam Christ-
iani essent
diuinos hono-
res tribue-
bant Hæ
gregatim re-
pere et suum
regem sequi
feruntur* ⁸

egit Regis, imperauitque, quattuor mille || sexcentis septuaginta tribus annis Nono tandem, habitu *agricolæ et rustici, quo tempore impios⁹ suo gladio peremit Puer *insedans et turbulentus, furunculus, ac mendax fuit¹⁰ Cum enim, cum opilione uersaretur, lac, butyrum, et caseos furabatur, interrogatus *num flagitia admisisset,¹² negabat, mulierculis quibusdam, quæ *sordes¹³ in profluente eluebant, uestes, et lintea suffuratus est Vicinis ollas, et | supellectilia, *perfringebat,¹⁴ uitulos e præsepibus soluebat ut fugerent, quo curas *armentariorum¹⁵ auget Hæc crepundia, et pueritiæ initia, eo progressæ sunt, ut octo uxores, suis uiris ui, sexdecim mille dolo, et fraude¹⁶ eripuerit, ubi uir et dignus scilicet nomine euasit¹⁷ Atque horum miraculorum memoriam, illis delubris, ne excidant, tuentur Tanta est impudentia Brachmanarum, et Indicæ plebeculæ stoliditas, ut iure eloquentiæ parens | Cicero dixerit Quæ barbaria India vastior? Quæ agrestior? Et merito quidem • nam magis ad ueritatem, aniles fabulæ, quas hyeme, ad focum vetulæ narrant accedere uidentur

Mathurâ,
the Rome of
India

Ac cum Viznu, famatissimus apud Indos, *ψευδοθεος* habeatur, factum est, ut sicuti Roma, in Europa, *olim urbs hæc in India superstitionum fons et caput extiterit¹⁷ | Quæ quidem, et murorum ambitu, et ædificiorum amplitudine, atque hominum fre-

¹ Later addition ² ist nouem uicibus ³ ist prima. ⁴ st secunda, and similarly tertia, quarta, nona
⁵ ist dehiscentem ⁶ Later addition ⁷ ist emundaret hominum ex alius profuuiio, conspurcatum
⁸ ist qui tyrannidem exercebat. ⁹ ist proditorie ¹⁰ ist coloni, malos
¹¹ ist puer turbulentus, et inquietus existit, furunculusque, ac mendax "Insedatus" is probably intended instead of "insedans."
¹² Later addition. ¹³ ist se. ¹⁴ ist comminuebat. ¹⁵ ist pastorum, et opilionum
¹⁶ ist ubi uir euasit eripuerit ¹⁷ ist superstitionum fons fuit, et caput, sic olim urbs hæc, in India.

Relics of antiquity
 F 54a 1
 Only one temple left
 quentia, fuit amplissima et ædificiorum quidem dignitatem, ruinæ plane indicant
 of Eruuntur enim e latebris ruinarum, columnæ et statuæ vetustissimæ, *æque scite
 atque afabre factæ ¹

Shaving ceremony
 F 54b 1
 Shrine of Hanūmān
 Tame monkeys
 2
 3
 4
 Superest unum tantum, e multis, gentilitium || templum, nam Agarenī præter
 pyramidas, reliqua solo æquarunt Ad hoc templum, quod in iugo quodam, prope
 Jomanis ripam, situm est, ex uniuerſa India, peregrini frequentissimi confluunt
 ad quod non permittuntur, a Brachmanis ingredi, nisi prius in ripa fluminis, uiri
 quidem capillum, et barbam, mulieres capillum, et supercilia abradant et | sese in
 flumen, aliquoties mergant ut a peccatis, aqua illa eluantur qua perfusis, Brach-
 manæ, peccatorum omnium ueniam promittunt Res est quidem stupenda Nam
 tonsores, plures sunt trecentis, qui expeditissime, semimersos in scalis, quæ in ora
 fluminis constructæ sunt, ingentem tum uirorum, tum mulierum multitudinem, syn-
 cere, quod attinet ad | pudorem, sed promiscue, abradunt Ea est enim mali Dæ-
 monis astutia, ut speciem quandam religionis, eorum animis iniiciat, ut sceleratis-
 simum facinus existiment, aliquid turpe, aut indecorum, in tanta loci, ut ipsi putant,
 sanctitate, uel cogitatione uelocissima moliri, dum impia superstitione implicantur |
 At eloti, reliquo uitæ tempore, ea facta diligentissime deuitant, quæ ab ijs peccata,
 iudicantur Optandum sane, ea cura atque studio, uera peccata ab ijs declinari, qui
 non falsa, sed uera religione imbuti, veram ueniam sunt, pia aliqua functione, adhi-
 bito pœnitentiæ Sacramento, consequuti

Legend of Hanūmān
 F 54b 1
 Tame monkeys
 2
 3
 4
 Ab hac urbe, sex fere milliaribus distat, Anumanti fanum in quo trecenti, et
 his amplius, simij, in saltu quodam, publicis sumptibus aluntur Qui statis horis,
 dato signo, || ære tinnienti, arma capessunt, et in duas turmas diuisi, mutuo digladi-
 antur, eadem, æris tinnitu deponunt *Pransum cœnatumque, eodem pulsu ueni-
 unt, et a cœna prandioque sylvam petunt,² cum stupore, miseræ plebis, quæ diuino
 illud prodigio, fieri existimat Brachmanæ uero, his fraudibus, miserum populum, qui
 his præstigijs, dementer, non solum credit, uerum etiam capitur, decipiunt Nam
 simios | arte, et diligentia, et vetustiorum, qui iam sunt edocti imitatione, ad illa
 agenda erudiunt Atque hæc, honorem ut suo patrono Anumanto, cultumque tribu-
 ant, simios sua sponte facere persuadent

Legend of Hanūmān
 F 55a 1
 3
 4
 Anumanti uero fabula, sic habet Maessuris, Crustni et Brāmæ frater, filius uero
 Para Maessuris, dicitur, mulierem quandam, quæ in monte solitaria religionis causa
 degebat, adamasse uentique internuntio grauidam | effecisse, quæ Anumantum edi-
 dit, forma simij Qui cum a matre quæsiuisset, "Quisnam est meus pater?" mat-
 rem respondisse ferunt, "Ventus" At uero uentus, ne tantæ rei ueritas lateret, aut
 fortasse ne cogeretur, filium suis sumptibus educare, mouendis procellis interdum,
 euocandisque pluuijs ocupatus, cum denique, nullo consistat loco, aut Æoli specu |
 aliquando clausus, filium periclitari timeret, vel quod pueri forma displiceret, e uesti-
 gio dixit, "Minime gentium Huius simij pater, Maëssuris est" Qui omnibus de-
 nuntiari iubet, malum dæmonem, non ingressurum eius domum, nec illi, filijsue illius,
 qui simium hunc coluerit, damnum allaturum || Aiunt uero, ideo simios, ex arbore in
 arborem inuolare, quod interuentu, et opera uenti, Anumanthus generatus sit Hunc

¹ ist non inepte fabrefactæ

² ist pransum cœnatumque, eodem pulsu petunt

- Palace of Firozābād and its pillar columnnam e marmore integram, et solidam, altitudine pedum triginta, crassitudine fere quinque collocauit Ac subterraneam uiam, ad ueterem Delinum (ubi Christianorum reges | habitasse creduntur) quadraginta fere stadiorum, cuniculis aperuit, ut sese* a curia et¹ negotijs, quoties libēret, *subtraheret,² et sine comitatu, in eam uillam, ut animum relaxaret, solusque contenderet Multa de eo narrantur, quæ si uera essent, et cum Christiana fide coniuncta, hominem | cælo, ob hæc benefacta intulissent Hanc urbem, excepto præsidio Mongolorum, Brachmanæ copiosi, et locupletes incolunt, quo fit, ut ex priuatis ædificijs, non parum splendoris, ciuitati accedat Cum enim lapide, ac calce abundet || regio, homines copiosi, bene materi-atas, atque ornatas, extantesque, non humiles, et deiectas ædes construunt Viæ vero, opera Emaumi, qui fabricæ erat deditus, splendoreque urbium, et uiarum laxitate tenebatur, augustæ, præter Agarenorum consuetudinem, et aspectu gratæ sunt
- Quarum medium, arborum pulcherrima consitio, uiriditate | exornat, umbraculis amœnum reddit Porro hortorum amœnitatem, trans, et citra Jomanem (qui ad ortum solis, urbem pene contingit) et suburbana, longum esset recensere cum multa sint, et cœli clementia, omnium frugum, fructuumque ubertate præstantia Est enim ager Delinicus optimus, et fructuosissimus Delini uero ueteris, ruinæ | extant, turresque, ac mœnia semidiruta, quæ celebrem fuisse urbem indicant Abest uero, a noua urbe, ad ocasum fere solis, duobus prope et triginta stadijs °
- Sonepat. Biduo Sonipātum ventum est quod exiguum est municipium, at nomine dignitateque ciuitatis illustre, ex quo enses, gladij, sicæ, pugiones, ferreæ cuspides, quæ hastis, et iaculis, telisque præfiguntur, | in reliquas totius regni partes, concinne fabricatæ, exportantur Est enim in ea regione, ferri et chalybis, quæ in uicinis Imai iugis effodiuntur, magna copia atque eius generis, armorum opifices, quam plurimi Postridie cum litteras Mirsachimi, ad Xamansurum, iam tertio datas, || Rex interceptisset Xamansurum, in custodiam conijci, imperauit
- Shāh Mansūr arrested Panipat. Deinde Panipātum uersus, castra mouit, cuius habitatores, studio uidendi Regem, solaria, et tecta, fœminæ potissimum, compleuerant Panipāto egressis, et Karnāl *Carnārem* oppidum præteruectis, riuus occurrit, qui in Jomanem influit, ponteque lapidea, absque concursatione, et clamore, ut fit locis angustis, riuulum *se peditatus | traiecit nam præceptum erat,⁵ ut elephantes, camelī et equites uado transirent
- Thānesar [? Shāhā]bād Tridui itinere, Tanissārim, Brachmanarum, et negotiatorum municipium, peruentum est Hinc Baādum, ubi Xamansurus jussu Regis, ex arbore suspensus, suæ perfidiæ, atque proditionis, meritis pœnas dedit Quod in hunc modum gestum est
- Shāh Mansūr hanged 3 Rex satellitum, et carnificum | tribunos, et primarios quosque duces, cum Xamansuro, in eo loco consistere imperauit et Abdulfasilio edixit, ut ordine, coram illis testibus, omnia beneficia, quæ in eum, a puero, Rex contulisset, commemoraret, tum ut eius, ingratiitudinem, illi obijceret, proditionem exprobraret, conuictumque exemplis litterarum, suæ, ac Mirsachimi, manus, quas ostendebat, iure suspendio, | a Rege damnatum esse ostenderet, tandem hortaretur, ut forti animo, nihilque indigne ferente,

¹ Later addition² 1st expediret³ Bracketed in the MS from Ac Delinum (fol 55b 2 I have returned to the subject of the Palace of Firoz Shāh at Delhi and its pillar in J A S B 1913 My note at p 530 n 3 of this volume is of an earlier date⁴ Earlier spelling, Carnarum⁵ 1st exercitus traiecit eo quod præceptum esset

supplicium subiret at uero efficeret, ut ij qui aderant, sibi persuaderent, nihil Regem, in Xamansurum, iniustum moliri, eosque ut in officio essent, commoneret Quod Abdulfasilius, qui Regis personam sustinebat, ad unguem perfecit Quo perempto, ad castra, || quæ non procul aberant, reuerterunt At uero Rex, oris tristitia, et hominis infortunium dolere, aperte significauit Verum illius necesse, coniuratio omnino extincta est et ab omnium, qui partes Regis sequebantur, iugulis, mucro sublatus totisque castris omnium est, lætitia, improbi hominis supplicium, comprobatum

2 Et cum nulla timeretur intestina seditio, de belli exitu, id est | præjudicatum, quod ipse feliciter consequutus, Dei munere comprobauit ut Mirsachimus facti poenitens, de pace (ubi rumore, rem gestam didicit) cogitaret

habeant, uanis quibusdam, et anilibus fabulis, qualis illa fuerat homines scilicet, ex floribus procreant, qui pulchri, candidi, oculisque rutilantibus, sapientes, et virtutibus

2 ornatī essent, ¹ eosque | sine patre, sine matre, sine ortu et originibus, in Europa
The Trinity nasci ¹ Cuidam item Agareno, de rebus diuinis interroganti, ut tres personas, unam
esse substantiam, in diuinis credibile uideretur, proposita similitudine, effecit quod,
ut nemo, inficias ire potest, corpore et anima, quæ diuersæ sunt substantiæ, unius
3 hominis | personam constare, sic nemini incredibile esse debet, tres personas, unam
esse naturam, atque substantiam Quotidiana uero principis institutio, Rege ipso
sæpe hortatore, nulla, itineris defatigatione, unquam est prætermissa

Ceynandum, biduū itinere, ab Ambala distat in cuius suburbio, ad solis occasum,
Sirhind described
4 castra posuit Urbi nomen Ceynandum, ab euentu positum | fuisse narratur Fertur
enim, in eo loco, Rex quidam, cum leone luctatus, de bestia uictoriam reportasse
Sarindum etiam dicitur, quod in extremis finibus, regni Indici (Lahorum uersus, quod
Lahorum regni caput, et sedes est) ædificatum sit Nam Sarahat, litem significat
F 59a 1 perinde ac si dicatur, limes Indiæ Est autem urbs magni ambitus, uicis || distincta,
instar Memphis Ægypti, quæ uulgo dicitur Cayrum Sarindi, gymnasium est medi-
cinæ celeberrimum, unde medici, in omne regnum prodeunt Illunc arcus, et phare-
træ, calcei, et ocreæ, et crepidæ, in reliquas totius regni urbes, a negotiatoribus, tan-
tummodo exportantur Positum est uero Sarindum, in latissima planitie, crebris

Hic con-
uentus olim
Arachosia
dicebatur ¹

2 arboribus consita, hortorumque amœnitate | iucunda sed arenti quam iacturam, et
aquarum difficultatem habitatores, lacu magni aluei, in ipso urbis ingressu, uersus
austrum, hominum industria facto, subleuant Hyeme enim in eum, ^{*} riuis accer-
sitis et ductis ⁸ aquam deduci, curant In eius autem medio, turrin excitauit,
publicæ recreationi, aperto aditu, propositum a quâ in lacum, et circumuicinos
3 hortos, iucundus | est prospectus ⁴

Ceynando profectus Rex, cum ad Paélum castra haberet, certior factus est, Mir-
Pāyal? Good news
for Akbar sachumum fugæ se dedisse Quod usque adeo, Regi gratum fuit, ut Sacerdoti, qui in
Flight of
Mirzā Ha-
kim castris erat, iusserit renuntiari Postridie cum ille, Regi gratularetur, magna cum
Monserrate animi lætitia, eam sibi gratulationem, iucundam esse significauit Ac cum superiori-
4 bus diebus, | frontis contractione, magnas curas uersare uideretur uultus hilaritate,
tunc omnes curas deposuisse, uisus est Nam in biga, iunctis equis, cursus aliquot,
A coach and pair animi caussa confecit

Atque inde Machiuāram, id est, piscium uicini præteruectus, ad ripam Sata-
Māchhiwāra
Bridging the Suttlej nulgæ, ⁵ qui ab antiquis, Zarādrus dicitur, dum ligneus pons construitur, castra posuit
Cuius quidem fons, et caput haud multum, ab eo loco distat Nam ad Imaum ||

F 59b 1 proxime, exercitum Rex duci imperauerat A quo Zaradrus, uersus ocasum solis fluit
et Indo, se immiscet Cocodrilos, aquatilesue lacertos, procreat doli crassitudine,
quos cissāres, hoc est, tricipites uocant qui sex pedibus reptant, hominesque incautos,
dum supernatant, deglutiunt bouesque et bubalos, et pecora ac reliqua animantia
2 cum in ora fluminis | ^{*} aqua sitim depellunt, ⁶ pede correpta, abripiunt, et submergunt

¹ ist eosque in Europa nasci, sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia, ut de Enochio [2ndly Melchisedec] Sacra
Litteræ produnt In the margin, "Hebr 7, Genes 14" are referred to

¹ Later note cancelled

⁵ ist canalibus

⁴ Bracketed in MS from in cuius suburbio (fol 58 b 3)

⁶ X wrote in the margin "Mutchy wara" and "Satanledge"

⁶ ist adaquantur

Hunc eundem fluuium, a vicino oppido Machiuáram, imperiti, et Ludiánam, a Ludiáno municipio, uocant quod a Machiuára, sex et uiginti fere miliaribus, *deor-

*Machiuara piscum m-
cus¹*

Sultāpur sum² distat, qua recta uia Basilipolim, quam torrens quidam aquæ præterluit, quæ
3 bibentibus perniciem affert deinde Gouindiuicum, | post* Lahurum³ itur Verum
Govindwāl? Lahore exercitus, hoc relicto, in sinistra, itinere, ac ad Machiuáram, et Zarádrum perductus
Hugging the moun- a Zarádro uersus montes, ducto itinere, in locis asperis, et nimium frigoribus, rigen-
tains tibus, castra fecit

*Sultanpur Lahori¹
Lahoris metropolis¹*

Dungari? Quinto die, a Zarádro, ad præsidium quoddam Patanæorum, uentum est, quod
4 Dungarij, id est, duæ horæ nominatur ubi Sacerdoti, | quinquaginta aureos nummos

numerari, quos Christianis distribueret, præ animi lætitia, imperauit Nam supplices
litteras, a Mirsachimo, per tabellarios, pridie acceperat quibus, excusatione suæ perfid-
diæ, belli calamitatem deprecabatur, obsecrabatque, ut qui prouincijs datis, alios ditaret,
se in suo regno degere permetteret Sed cum non supplicium deprecari, sed præmium

F 60a 1 postulare uideretur non destitit Zelaldinus, || quo tendebat ire pergere Et *exercitus
quidem, uadum, cuiusdam fluuij, tranans¹ pone Bibāsīm, qui nunc Beaa dicitur,
Near the Beās biduo iter *habuit,⁴ quoad uadum, quo elephantes transirent, et angustiae fluminis
occurrerent, in quibus ligneus pons construeretur, quem ubi *antecursores¹ nacti sunt,
eo in loco castra fecerunt

*Non procul
a rivulo exter-
ritus bos mi-
seram quan-
dam mulie-
rem inopin-
antem pericu-
lose adortus
depulsi humi-
que prostra-
uit⁶*

2 Rex uero, delectu equitum habito Nagarcottum contendit, ut Regulo | cuidam,
qui a filio pulsus, opem eius implorauerat, auxilium ferret Cuius aduentum, ubi
rebellis cognouit, sese in præruptas et inaccessas montium cauernas, cum suis coh-
ortibus abdedit Rex uero, re infecta ad castra redijt Est hic ager earum rerum ferax,
quas Hispanicus, et Italicus, plerisque locis producant quibus reliqua India caret

3 Postridie eius diei, castra ultra | Bibāsīm, ligneo ponte, decem fere miliaribus,
ab hesterna statione, traducta sunt, haud procul ab oppido Pachangarino, Peytan-
ensis conuentus, domini Biliballi reguli, primi Regis cubicularij qui Regi redeunti,
ex Nagarcottica excursionem, Peytani, opipare apparatus conuiuium, præbuisse fere-
batur Patet uero Peytanensis ager, ad Imai usque iuga, quinque, et quadraginta |

4 prope miliaria
Kalānaur Postridie Calanúrūm, castra aplicauit Apud quod municipium, Zelaldinus fisis,
atque deuctis Patanæis, et Beyramcano superato, Lahorini regni, rex est salu-
tatus, ac purpuram, sceptrum, et alia Regis insignia, in amœnissimis, et amplissimis
hortis, qui in suburbano *quodam¹ sunt, accepit In quibus, Lahorini priores reges,

*Hoc est
Arachosia⁶*

F 60b 1 *eadem | accipere soliti erant Hoc opidum flumine exiguo alluitur, qui [sic] in
Bibasim decurrit Is est quem supra demonstrauius, quem Strabo, Hypānem nomi-
nat atque in eius citeriori ripa, Alexandrum magnum constitisse, nec ultra, traducere
copias, ausum fuisse, memoriæ prodidit Calanúrūm, Latinis magna urbs sonat

2 uestigiaque magnæ urbis, in ruinis, et parietinis, | quæ adhuc manent, non obscura
apparent at nostra memoria id oppidi, Calanurum dici, ridiculum est

Nagarkot. Duodeuiginti miliaribus, *Nagarcottum⁵ a Calanuro distat, quod perinde est,

¹ Later addition. ² 1st declui flumine ³ 1st Lahorum ⁴ 1st Et uado cuiusdam fluuij superato

⁶ 1st habitum est.

⁶ Later addition and cancelled

⁷ 1st regni insignia suscipere

⁸ Note in pencil by the anonymous annotator Nagarcott 18 M P a Calanur distat

quod Nagāris arx, vel castellum cuius regulus, quem superioribus diebus, Zelaldinus, oratu depulsi patris, bello petierat, latrocinij, et incendijs, ut Zelaldino opploderet |

3 Calanuranum agrum deuastauit

The Bhotiās Supra eam arcem, ad orientem solem, in interiori Imao, immanis, et barbara, Bothorum, vel Bothantum natio, per contubernia, sine rege, in pagis degit qui lanæ ^{Yato se haa de escriuer} coagmentum, quale est petasorum, corpori, quam proxime possunt, *suendo annectunt ¹ nec ante exuunt, quam aut putrescat sudore, aut usu teratur, et soluatur, ut

4 decidat Ex | eodem, *pileis forma conij compactis, ² caput tegunt Manus, aut os, aut pedes, nunquam lauant Eius rei causam reddunt, quod nefas sit, elementum pelucidum, ac pulchrum, quodque haustum, sitim leuet, sordibus foedari Unam tantum ducunt uxorem, e qua ubi duos, tresue filios, susceperint, coelibem uitam agunt Si

F 61a 1 alter e coniugibus moriatur, alter qui superest, coelebs || ad mortem usque perseuerat A simulachrorum cultu abhorrent, a magis, uel potius ueneficis, gubernantur Cum eorum aliquis, e uita discedit, ueneficos adeunt, libros suos, uenefici consulunt, edicuntque, quid opus sit facto atque si, ut cadauer deuorent, aut ut in profluentem projiciant, uel ut flammis adurant, denique ut * aut ³ feris uorandum, * aut ⁴ auius dilacerandum,

2 *aut ⁵ ex arbore suspendendum, alioe | modo consumendum, euentui *reseruent, ⁶ uenefici edicant continuo parent Ossea supellectili, ex hominum cadaueribus utuntur, crania quidem, pro poculo, harmis pro patinis, tibijs et brachijs, pro thecis pugionum, et aliarum rerum Sagittis etiam, duriora articulorum, et costarum ossa, praefigunt Colore sunt candido, statura mediocri, capillitio subrufo, ore rubicundi,

3 plerique, oculis | sunt decoris et rotundis Eorum armatura, sunt, breues gladij, arcus, et sagittae Coagmentandis e lana camelorum (quibus abundant) stragulis, texendisque lacernis, ex tenuissima lana, quaestum faciunt, quae Nagarcottum important, et diuendunt Niuibus, a descensu Imai, in agrum Indicum, arcentur toto

4 anno, praeterquam mensibus, Junio, Quintili, Sextili, atque Septembri, | quibus nives, propter solis uehementes, in ea regione, ardores, soluuntur Sunt homines, ad pietatem, et misericordiam proclues Nam stipem libentissime largiuntur, et peregrinos (ut Jogues narrant) perhumane, ac perbenigne accipiunt, pacem colunt bella detestantur Regio est, vini, tritici, et multorum frugum, quae Europa *fundit, ⁷ ferax

F 61b 1 Abundat armentis, || et multo pecore camelis, onagrisque In ea syluestre quoddam pecoris genus dicitur esse, caprae magnitudine, quod *artuum colligationibus, ⁸ in cruribus, tibijsque, atque brachijs caret, saltibusque graditur, eamque ob causam facile capitur, quod captum, tenuissima lana exuunt, quae bombycinis, sericisque filis,

2 est tenuior, quibus lacernae, quas diximus, texuntur Ac quoniam ea, quae | de hoc hominum genere narrantur, fidem superare uideri poterant ea potissimum, *quae ad colendum coelibatum spectant ⁹ diligentior Sacerdotes inuestigarunt *num ita res haberet ut in ea uicina, Sacerdos compererat qui illac iter in castris fecerat ¹⁰ Et plurimum testimonio compertum, exploratumque est, omnia quae de hac gente feruntur,

3 uera esse Quod animos Sacerdotum, non parum allegerat, | ut periclitarentur, pos-

¹ 1st adsuunt

² 1st pileis intextis, ijsque acuminatis

³ Later addition

⁴ 1st tradant

⁵ 1st edit

⁶ 1st sutionibus

⁷ 1st quae de colendo coelibatu uarrantur

1st Num ut in ea uicina, castrensis Sacerdos compererat, res haberet?

sentne, ad eos negotiatorum habitu, penetrare Verum eam cogitationem, cursus rerum, et legationis exitus, ut deponerent, coegerunt Ferunt uero, a Nagarîs arce, uersus Septemtrionem, ad Caspiros usque Imai iuga, hanc gentem obtinere atque idiomate proprio uti Hi esse uidentur quos Plinius Casiros uocat, cum ait, "Et iam Indorum Casiri, introrsus ad Scythas uersi, | humanis corporibus uescuntur" ^{Plin lib 6 cap 13}

4 Calanuro itaque profectus, Raohi fluuium, qui Adris nominatur, ponte constructo, ¹exercitum ²traiecit, deinde Cingaróum flumen, ad Imai radices Ac per ardua, et decliua collum, et conuallium, infesto, et periculoso itinere, propter paludes, quæ subsidebant, in uallibus, et || rupes, quæ extabant, in montibus, et * prærupta saxa, quæ è rupibus eminebant, ³Sambam uenit ^{Hæc sunt describenda a uoce Calanuro ²}

Crossing
the Rāvi and
the Ben ?

F 62a 1

Samba in
Jammu ?

Est porro Samba, urbs, et præsidium, in Imai descensu, satis firmum, reguli, cuiusdam gentilis, qui Zelaldino paret, agri fertilitate, atque incolarum frequentia, eadem qua est Nagarcottum Ac præter Mongolorum præsidia, incolæ, gentilica Brachmanarum | superstitione tenentur & soli cœlique temperie p̄oxime ad Europæam accedit Nam uersus Aquilonem, a tricesimo, ad tricesimum secundum latitudinis cingulum, uniuersa regio protenditur Sunt uero plerique homines, procero, et tenui corpore colore furuo, ad candorem prolixa coma, ac barba

3 Samba profectus, ad *Naním⁴ fluuium, qui in Sandabalim, | quattuor ab ea statione, miliaribus, intrat castra posuit in amœno quidem, et uirenti prato Est enim, interamnis hæc regio, ab Adri ad Sandabalim, et amœnitate, et fertilitate, tum etiam hortorum uarietate, uiculorumque, et pagorum, multitudine reliquis superioribus, longe præstantior

The Nani ?
The Doāb
4 Postero die, Sandabalim se traiecit | Quæ quidem traectio difficilis fuit, nam cum pontem indignetur amnis, multique uadum tentarent, non pauci submersi perierunt Rex cymba traiecit, et plerique alij, triduique moram, uniuersæ copiæ, dum traiciunt traxerunt Erat enim mira cymbarum paucitas, licet imperasset Rex, ut ex uicinis* uicis, et municipijs, in eum locum appellerentur Huus || paucitatis causa fuit, Mirsachimus, qui ut sequentem se Regem, moraretur, ubi suas copias transuexit frangi, atque aduri cymbas, quibus erat transuectus, iussisse dicebatur Nam erant ei, duo flumina, quæ restabant, non modicas moras, ut tempori fugeret, ne ab antecursoribus fratris, bellum inchoaretur, allatura Quas hoc belli consilio, | et arte, compensare decreuit Amissi sunt, in huius amnis transitu, quadringenti fere, omnis conditionis homines, qui enatare nequuerunt Quod eo magis, mirandum est, tantam, in eo loco, esse fluminis magnitudinem, quod a capite, uel fonte, haud multum distet tum quod, diuerticulis diuisus, in tres ueluti riuos abeat atque in eo loco lato quidem | uado insulam, duobus quasi brachijs, ambiebat Hic uero amnis lento cursu, et magnis circuituibus, in Bydaspem illabitur

Crossing
the Chenāb

F 62b 1

An affluent
of the Jeh-
lam

2 Duci uero, per eius ripam, exercitum, aquationis causa, ad Qhuniá, id est sanguinis locum, et Saddarim imperauit Quæ duo oppida, tribus inuicem miliaribus distant mediumque iter, inter ea arripuit, flexitque, | ad Hydaspem, quæ via est ad amnem breuior, et lenior Qua in cura, et diligentia, Regis profecto prouidentia,

Kunjah &
Sohra ?

4

1 This paragraph is bracketed in the MS 2 Later addition. 3 1st præcipitia, quæ in rupibus imminebant.
4 1st Nanium, as in the Index, 2ndly Naním, as at fol 3b 5 Later addition. 6 1st uiculis

- laudanda est, qui tanto studio exercitus salutē, et incolumitatē prospexit, ut aquationis, et difficultatis annonæ, tum etiam trajciendorum annuum, incommodis liberarit Verum fieri non potuit, quin primo die, quo a Sandabali per septem fere ||
 F 63a 1 milliaria, abstracta castra sunt, siti sit exercitus fatigatus Qua de caussa, per quod-
 Resting at dam compendium, iter inijt, quod tamen ad quindecim milliaria, protendebatur et
 the Jehlam ad Bydaspem castra posuit, ubi octo diebus, exercitui, laxamentum dedit Et quoti-
 2 atque profundo, nec ullo modo | uado* castra traduci, ac ne elephantēs quidem,
 possunt nec equestres pedestresque copię natando transmittere¹ Quam ob caussam,
 firmum pontem, construi oportuit Is etiam Indo immiscetur, eius uero ripis, La-
 The Jāts= horum regni, limites continentur Veteres Lahorinæ regionis, indigenæ, Getæ dicun-
 the Getæ tur,* antiquis Geretæ,² qui comam, et barbam abraderē, eo nefas esse dicunt, quod
 uirorum sint præcipuum, et eximium ornamentum |
 3 Ubi flumen transmisit, in radice Balnatini montis constitit, è regione Imai, qui a
 Derivation Delino, usquē in hæc loca procurrens, necubi intersectus, semper eodem nomine, ab
 of " Kash- indigenis appellatur At uero ab hac regione, ubi ab oriente in occidentem, leni
 mir " quodam flexu, et patenti quodam, atque aperto colle, uergit nomen mutat dicitur-
 4 que ab accolis Casp uel Cas | et illi quidem, qui montes incolunt, Caspiri a
 nostratibus, Geographis dicuntur, at ab indigenis, et finitimis Casmirini,* e duobus
 uocibus compacto nomine Eæ sunt cas quæ est montis nomen, et mir quæ præfectum
 The Gak- sonat efficiuntque Casmir² Verum qui campestria obtinent, Gaccares uocantur
 kars Et Casmirini, vel Caspirij, centum ab hinc annis, armis ab Agarenis subacti,
 F 63b 1 eorum instituta, et leges suscipere coacti sunt Nam fama est, ut omnium eius
 Lost tribes regionis, incolarum, || ore fertur, olim genere, et instituto fuisse Judæos Quod ipsi
 of Israel in interrogati, non diffitentur, atque species oris, totaque corporis constitutio, et uesti-
 Kashmir tus ipse, et ratio omnis, quæstus faciendi, Judæorum nostratium, quæstuariæ rationi,
 similis est Nam qui Lahori commorantur, scruta, hoc est, attritas uestes, et fer-
 2 ramenta, ferreosque uectes, ac soleas, aimillas, et | seras, et id genus, alia uetera
 diuendunt An uero fides habenda sit, fabulæ, quæ per manus tradita, ad nostram
 usque memoriam peruenit aliorum est iudicium Fertur* tamen,³ communi omnium,
 antiquitatis studiosorum sermone Alexandrum magnum, Caspijs montibus,
 Judæos inclusisse, qui si Straboni credimus, ad Bibasim usque, ut supra commemo-
 3 rauimus, in | Indiam penetrauit nedum ad Caspum, seu Caspium montem Jam
 uero, loci situs, is est, ut cum uno tantum loco, adiri possit, portas habere, non
 inepte dicatur Nam et ipsa, subsidentium montium, intercapedo, procul conspecta,
 portæ similitudinem ostendere uidetur At Sacerdotes, qui, essentne Caspirij Judæi,
 4 omnibus uestigijs indagarunt esse plane Judæos | genere, et annis ab hinc centum
 superstitione Agarenos compererunt Quod uero ad montem attinet, licet ascensum
 habeat difficilem, atque infestum* ascendentibus,⁴ quo incolæ, pro præsidio utuntur,
 unde equitatum, facile repellunt in summo tamen* æquata agri, eiusque fertilis,⁵
 planities est Nec uero me latet, aliquos opinari Judæos ab Alexandro, in ea regione

¹ 1st trajci, ne elephantibus quidem, potest, nec natando superari.² Later addition³ 1st enim⁴ 1st subeuntibus⁵ 1st æquati eiusque fertilis agri

F 64a 1 Caspij montis inclusos, quæ Caspio mari, proxima est || Ego uero, nihil eorum sententiæ repugno, in similibus enim illud Terentianum usurpo, si aiunt aio, si negant nego¹

Manners of the Gakkars Jamuero, Gaccares, Agareni sunt, qui campestria incolunt Homines bellicosi statura mediocri, et firma, ad furta, ob situm loci, et latrocinia propensi, odio quidem omnibus et plagij labe, atque ignominia infames, liberos enim homines, ex insidijs, |
2 intercipientes, raso capite, neruoque calcis² execto,² in Persiam deportant, et pro mancipijs, uendunt Quod si, dum miserum hominem capiunt, caputque radunt, suæ gentis,³ insuper aliquis adueniat¹ pretij est particeps Horum urbs regia, Ruytas
Rohtās Ruytas-nun dicitur arce, uel præsidio firmissima, Europæo more munita, quam præterlunt riuius, | qui in Bidaspem decurrit Est autem sita in fronte cuiusdam rupis, quæ ad orientem solem, ex Balnatæo iugo, per nouem fere miliaria, decurrit saltu quidem saxoso, et sterili, sed ad repugnandum nato

Balnatque thile, hoc est Balnati⁴ rupes,⁴ magnæ est altitudinis, difficili ascensu, atque arduo, ut equo nemo queat ascendere In ipso | uertice, aream habet, in qua
4 trichinia aliquot, ædificata sunt, in quibus Balnatus quidam, cum sorore dicitur uictitasse qui sectam quandam instituit, cuius hæc sunt instituta ut biennio, antequam admittantur, et uestibus, suæ factionis induantur, alijs qui in eo loco commorantur, ||
F 64b 1 inseruiant, coquo pareant, ligna secant, in culinam important, armenta, et greges
Ascetics. pascant aquam, quæ quidem magno cum labore, æstate præcipue, illhuc subuehitur, comportent cibos alijs, qui ad trecentos, fere semper illhuc conueniunt, ministrent, quæ munera si diligenter, et accurate obeant biennio exacto, uestibus induuntur
2 sponsione | facta,⁵ sese integros et castos⁶ perpetuo seruatueros, nihil quod dignitati, et opinioni, sui ordinis aduersetur, admissuros Vestes uero sunt, toga quædam (instar eius, quæ ab antiquis, non satis latine, Harmiclausa dicebatur, a nonnullis, nostra ætate, Scapularæ, nouo nomine uocitatur) ad talos demissa, et lacerna atque
3 hnteu, quo caput redimitur | Atque hæc omnia, genere quodam, rubræ cretæ infecta et quasi miniata Indutis ea ueste, fit potestas, quocumque libuerit⁷ peregrinandi, stipeque uiuendi Quodsi quid indignum admittant dimittuntur Præest illis unus, qui ut in eum dignitatis gradum, euectus est, illo loco excedere, non potest,
4 habetque semper in comitatu, senes qui eum consilio | et autoritate iuant è quibus, suffragijs omnium, qui tunc adsunt, unus in locum, eius qui moritur,⁸ substituitur³ Dignitatis insigne, est, infula bombyciniis fasciis, è fastigio, per gyrum infulæ,

F 65a 1 ordine affixis, quæ impendeant, et facile moueantur tribus, quattuorue || ordinibus, a fastigio, ad extremam infulæ oram, quæ frontem cingit Ridiculum sane, pontificium insigne, quo uno uanitas superstitionis, abunde perspicui potest, ab eo, cui uel minimum fidei iubar affulserit Hi neque Agarenorum, neque gentium superstitionibus implicantur uerum alia, non minoris inscientiæ, ac fatuitatis Quendam

¹ Cancelled in MS from An uero fides (fol 63b 2) up to Agarenos compererunt (ibid, 4), and again from Nec uero me latet (ibid, 4) up to nego (fol 64a 1)

² 1st inciso ³ 1st aliquis superueniat ⁴ 1st mons

⁵ Pencil note by X His interpretation of the word 'thilah' is unintelligible to me It is scarcely possible to read it "sesamum" = til Nearly every place-name on this page has been underlined in pencil by X.

⁶ 1st se castitatem ⁷ 1st peregrinari, stipeque uiuere ⁸ 1st subrogatur

- 2 enim Balnat colunt, | tanquam uatem, et Dei seruum qui primus, solitariam uitam, cum sorore, in eo iugo agens, abhinc trecentis annis (ut ferunt) ex quo tempore desijt uideri, omnibus admirationi fuit Dicitur autem, adhuc uiuere, et plerisque locis, sese quasi Prometheus, varijs formis ostendere, et fasciolas summis arboribus,
- 3 uel locis editis, *asperitate et altitudine¹ terrentibus, quæ sui transitus, | per ea loca, indicio sint, appendere Hunc dicunt morem, quo Deus sit colendus, docuisse hoc uidelicet ut omnes mane, simul ac ortus fuerit sol, uersus orientem conuersi, *tibijs breuib², ac cocleis, simul *concinant,³ itidem ubi sol occidit, ad eius ocasum
- 4 conuersi, tum a prandio, et cœna quasi gratias Deo agant Nullo | cibo, nulla quorumuis hominum societate, suis sectatoribus interdixit At uero in suis domibus, parcissime uiuunt, legumine scilicet decocto, et butyro Quorum hominum, duplex est ordo coniugatorum alter, cœlibum alter Coniugati breuiori veste utuntur Cœlibes sponsione castitatis tantum, et officio docendi, a coniugatis differunt Res-
- F 65b 1 ponsa, consulto Balnato || reddunt suntque diuinationibus dediti, ut potius uenefici, quam religiosi, dicendi sint, ac ipsum Balnatum, malum aliquem dæmonem, nos-
- Names in *nāth* trates Sacerdotes existimarunt qui falsis prodigijs, *horum⁴ maiores decepit et qui sese aliquando istis ostendit *Nam nominibus alijs quæ in *nat* desinunt se Orcus ac malus dæmon appellari et ab hac stolidi gentilitate inuocari et coli in morem perduxit Ea sunt Manquinat, Septenat, Jagarnat, et huiusmodi alia⁵ In eius recordationem uatores, arboribus, quæ prope uias consitæ, occurrunt fasciolas appendunt
- 2 Quo tempore | Zelaldinus, hunc locum adiit, senex quidam, loci antistes erat
- Akbar's visit to the Jogi's qui dicebatur, ducentorum esse annorum, at octoginta, uix attingebat Nam mos est huic hominum generi, sese annosos prædicare, ut uulgo sint admirationi, quasi uero uirtus, et sanctitas, annorum multitudine sit metienda Eum tamen in locum,
- 3 cum intellexerunt, | Regem esse uenturum, magna hominum multitudo, eius *familiæ,⁶ confluxit, ex quibus nonnulli, se ad sanctitatis ostentationem, in specus quasdam, quas natura loci, aut ars fecit, nudi coniecerunt quorum sanctitatem plerique admirabantur, et prædicabant Sunt uero pecuniæ | maxime auidi, omniaque præstigia, et* omnem⁷ sanctitatis simulationem, ad quæstum, et lucrum comparant Rex, ut est ad omnem superstitionem propensior, a Balnatæis in eum locum deductus, ubi commoratus fuisse Balnatus dicebatur nudis pedibus, et expansa coma, locum, et uatem ueneratus est
- F 66a 1 Dum Rex Balnati moras trahit, castra || quatrinduo, in eo campo constiterunt et bidui itinere, Ruytasium deducta sunt atque ad riui cuiusdam ripam, qui arcem fere ambit, posita Regem lautissimo conuiuio, Josephus arcis præfectus, qui eam, a Mirsachimi oppugnatione, ita liberauit, ut non sit ausus obsidere, excepit
- 2 Rutasio, per oram riui, institutum iter est non sine discrimine, | quorundam, qui equis, camelis, et elephantis uehebantur, *insolentia et inscitia⁸ uiæ Nam cum alueri arena, aquam riui ebibat, et absorbeat appareatque æquor solidum, atque siccum in quod, ubi quispiam incedit, illud cedit, et dehiscit, ac quô, quisque, ex
- Quicksands.

¹ ist præceptioque.⁴ Later addition² fistulis breuib², et perforatis⁵ ist farinæ.³ ist insonent⁶ ist inexperientia.

eo emergere, maiori conatu nititur, eò magis et periculosius in ipso mergitur cum nihil sibi ab æquato æquore timerent, periculosissime impingebant

3 Sexto die, *per salebras quasdam,¹ | et angustissimos colles, ac crebros fluuios, magna cœli * grauitate ac aeris crassitudine,¹ ob tonitrua, fulgura, fulmina, rapidis-
 Bad weather Rām Chan-
 dra s obelisk
 (at Manik-
 yālā?)
 -simos ventorum turbines, imbrium immoderatas inundationes, in campum amplissi-
 mum uentum est In cuius medio, obeliscus miræ magnitudinis, quasi acruus exta-
 bat, ruinosus quidem, propter uelustatem, sed locis plerisque integer, opere sane

4 eleganti, et concinno, quem Ramxandus rex gentilis, abhinc mille annis, | sui regni
 limitem, et terminum posuisse ferebatur¹ Impositus uero est obeliscus ille, basi
 quattuor laterum, altæ pedes septem, atque a crepidine, ad imam ipsius * obelisci⁴
 oram, latæ decem, ad quam per scalas ascenditur, quæ e lateribus extant, et eiusdem
 parietis ductu, utroque latere clauduntur Est uero obeliscus altitudine pedum
 uingenti, latitudine decem Cuius structura, ad pedes fere septem, recta * ascendit,⁵
 F 66b 1 * demde congestu quodam redimita⁴ a reliquo opere superiore, distinguitur * atque⁴
 ab eo loco, paulatim acumen, et fastigium obtusum, optime fabricatum, et rotundum
 perficit lapidibus quidem grandibus, et dolatis, nullaue calce, aut bitumine colli-
 gatis

The Gak-
 kars of Ri
 wat
 At uero exercitus, ad oppidum Rhauādum constitit Eius habitatores, ut reli-
 quæ regionis, sunt Gaccares, qui quo propius, ad Indoscythiam accedunt, eo sunt
 2 furaciores hominesque | commutant equis, et in prouerbium, apud eam gentem
 abiit, serui ex India, equi ex Parthia Regio hæc, a Ruytasio ad Indum fluuium,
 aspero est, et arenti solo,* cœlique aspiratione graui ac pestilente, quæ⁶ ingenio in-
 colarum, æque respondet Qui quamuis, cis Indum nati, et * educati⁷ sint idiomate,
 3 et colore ab Indis, non parum differunt Sunt enim subcandidi, atque | statura
 demissi, et humeris lati, cruribusque firmi, oris effigie, a fronte in mentum breui, et
 a genis, et fronte lati, rugosi, et eo denique aspectu, ut hostes, non hospites facile
 deprehendas

Gagar?
 4 Hinc, * riuulum transgressus, Gagarum uenit Est uero Gagaris, in edito trium
 collum,* et augusto,⁸ sed arduo iugo posita Gagari,* ut quoddam Indi | fluminis
 diuerticulum transmisit, qui [sic lege 'quod'] in Indum, paulo infra iterum fluens,
 insulam magnæ laxitatis efficit,* quæ a uiriditate, ut autumo, a ueteribus Prāsiane
 dicta est,⁹ ad oram Indi, in Azaraanæ pagi, saltu castra posuit

Hazāra Dt.
 The Dila-
 zāks
 F 67a 1 Hanc insulam genus quoddam Pataneorum tenet, qui Delazacqui nominantur
 Quæ quidem regio, mitior est, ac fertilior „superiore Nam licet, arborum, et horto-
 rum amœnitate destituatur ager quidem uber est, ac pinguis, frumenti ac leguminum,
 pascuorumque ferax Quo fit, ut armentis, et gregibus diues, butyro, et lacte
 abundet Incolarum item ingenium, facile et amicum, culturæ * agri,¹¹ et pascendis,
 educandisque pecoribus deditum Agunt uero in pagis, contra quam Gaccāres

Pashto like
 Spanish

¹ 1st per precipitia quasdam

⁴ 1st inclementia

⁵ Marginal pencil note by the anonymous annotator Obeliscus circiter A.C. 500 a Ramxando constructa Lat 33½, Long 115½ in Tabu [la] Basis alt. ped vii Obeliscus alt. ped xx. lat. ped x.

⁴ Later addition

⁶ 1st sic.

⁶ 1st colloque inclementi, et

⁷ 1st educti

⁸ 1st traiecto riuulo

⁹ 1st ut et augusto

¹⁰ 1st transmisso quodam Indi fluminis diuertigio, 2ndly diuerticulo.

¹¹ 1st soli

- 2 Commune | idioma, ut cæterorum Patanæorum, Pastoum est sono quidem Hispani-
 cum, et quod magis mirandum est, usu etiam aliquarum uocum.
- Abū-l-Fazl
 reading to
 Akbar Mon-
 serrate's
 treatise on
 the Passion
- 3 Enimuero Sacerdos, qui in castris versabatur, ne quæ acceperat Rex, de Christi-
 ana religione, obliuioni traderet epitomen quandam rerum, quas Christus cum pate-
 retur, transegit, illi fuga hostis lætiori, legendum tradidit | Quam quidem, quasi
 alias res agens, * ad calcem usque sibi recitari, ab Abdulfasilio iussit¹ ac dum legeretur,
 multa quæsiuit et in ijs præcipue quare, cum Dominus Jesus, tanto studio conten-
 deret, ut sibi Judæi crederent,* quo² salui efficerentur cum in cruce esset, Judæorum
 conditionem, non admisisset qui ei proponebant, "Si filius Dei es, descende nunc
 4 de cruce, et credimus | tibi" Respondit Sacerdos, pro re nata, hoc unum cum alia
 occurrerent respondenda "Diuino decreto, oportere homines, fide iustos effici
 "Nam Abrahamus, quia Deo credidit, contra spem, cum iuberetur immolare Isaacum,
 F 67b 1 "a quo posteritatem suam, pollicitatione || diuina, originem habituram acceperat
 "nihil hæsitans Deum præstaturum, quod pollicitus erat *filium in rogam imponit,
 "quo facto,³ placuit Deo, et effectus est iustus Quod si descendisset, de cruce
 "Christus, hoc experimentum, fidem ademisset, qua oportet, homines deduci, ut
 "salutem, et uitam assequantur Nec diuini numinis statutum, et æternam legem,
 2 "opus erat, paucorum, eorumque infidelium | postulatione refringi qui si Christus,
 "de cruce descendisset, non fuissent facti meliores, sed fortasse magicæ arti, prodi-
 "gium adscripsissent, quod saepenumero fecerunt, cum ostenta multa, quæ a solo
 "Deo fieri possunt, principi dæmoniorum attribuerunt" Hanc quidem responsionem,
 3 cum plurimum Rex probasset, perceperat enim, quid sibi Sacerdos | uellet, qui Per-
 sico idiomate, inculte, ac concise agebat, alijs qui aderant explicauit quam usque
 adeo comprobarunt, ut ea responsione, omni dubitationi esse factum satis, nihilque
 The doubts of
 St Thomas
- amplius desyderari dicerent Interrogauit deinde, "Quare D Thomæ permisit, ut
 "digitos, et manum vulneribus nderet? Cum etiam hæsitaret?" Cui quæstioni |
 4 Sacerdos respondit "Quoniam morem gerere, Thomæ hæsitanti, utile futurum erat
 "hominibus redemptis, Christi morte, qui credituri erant Quodsi, Judæis postu-
 "lantibus, ut descenderet, fuisset obsequutus, non essent homines *ex æterna Dei
 "lege qui ita fieri statuerat,³ redempti Tum etiam, quia Christus, ut Pater, mi-
 F 68a 1 "serans filij, Thomæ nihil proponenti, aut || postulanti, suapte benignitate occurrit,
 "atque manus, et latus, ei ostendit ne prolaberetur" Quæsiuit præterea,
 Christ sitting
 at the right
 hand of His
 Father
- quonam modo intelligeremus, cum dicamus, Deum Patrem corpore carere Chris-
 tum consedissee, ad dexteram Patris sui? Respondit Sacerdos, nos non intelligere,
 corpoream consessionem dicere uero Christum, ad dexteram Patris sedere, quia
 2 qua Christus Deus est, eandem | obtinet gloriam, honorem, et potestatem cum Patre,
 cui est æqualis, qua uero homo est, minor quidem Patre, accepit ab eodem Patre,
 maiorem gloriam, et potestatem, quam a Patre tributa sit, angelis, ac beatis omnibus,
 qui cælo perfruuntur, ac Regibus, et principibus, qui degunt in terrarum orbe
 Quæ cum potiora sint bona, reliquis, quæ cæteri acceperunt, nomine dexteræ, quæ
 3 sinistra | potior est, significantur Quibus responsionibus, cum esset Regi, et omni-

¹ Underlined in pencil by the anonymous annotator as also the passage on the obelisk.

² 1st ut

³ Later addition.

The ear of
Malchus and
Akbar's
chief phys-
ician

bus, pene satisfactum ac unus quispiam argutulus obstreperet et prodigij nomen, illi operi, quo Christus, Malcho seruo, auriculam restituit, impie, impudentur, et pertinaciter adimeret a Rege est grauitur obiurgatus, et a reliquis explosus Nam cum Dei filium, Christum esse diffiteantur, cætera | in eo, maxima fuisse, fatentur salui equidem futuri Agareni, si abiecta Mahammedis superstitione, illud ipsum quod abnegant, confiterentur Erat porro ille, qui * ostento¹ detrahebat, supremus Regis medicus, et in ea philosophia, quæ rerum naturas perscrutatur, non uulgariter edoctus

F 68b 1 At uero, Rex epitomen retinuit, et seruari imperauit

50 days rest
at Hazra
on the Indus

Cæterum, ubi ad oram Indi uenit, * laxamentum² exercitui, dare constituit Erat enim campus apertus, et planities agri maxima, et pascuorum ubertas copiosa, ac lignationis abundantia, omnium denique, quæ ad exercitus commeatum necessaria erant, copia Tum etiam ad uenationem, sylvarum, et nemorum | uicina, non parum Regem, ut ibi cessaret, mutabant Quare quinquaginta dies, castra in eodem loco, hoc est ad Azaaranam habuit quod oppidum, nouem fere passuum millibus, distat a Nilabho

The Nilāb
Fort [Atak
Banāras]

Nilabhum autem, præsidium est, in quodam colle, iuxta quasdam fluminis angustias, quibus transitus, ex India, in Paropanisadem, quæ nunc regio | Chabuli dicitur, esse potest Quam ob causam, instaurari arcem, Rex imperauit [Cf Index Atacalanaz]

The Indus
and its afflu-
ents

Jam uero Indus, omnium est maximus, totius Indiæ fluuiorum Nam in ipso sui ortu, et capite, maximam aquarum uim ex niuibz præcipue Imai, seu Caspi montis, liquatis, defluentem accipit Deinde quinque maximos fluuios, supra commemoratos, suo alueo excipit, et in mare deducit | In eius littore, prope fontes, auri optimi, et nitidissimi magnam copiam, qui uicini sunt populi, expiscantur Ex angustijs montium, et conuallium Imai, supra Caspiam, et Caspiam, atque adeo Bothorum, uel Bothantum³ regionem ad septentriones, uarijs flexionibus, in planitiem, ab ortu uersus occasum flectens in octo diuerticula, scinditur quæ septem

F 69a. 1

insulas præter illam, in qua exercitus constitit, efficiunt tanta aquarum copia, * ut uado uix possint elephantes transire⁴ Tum ad Nilabhi, et * Arachosia⁵ collum angustias (prope quas Coam, et Suastum fluuios, jam mutuo commixtos excipit) magno ambitu, uersus austrum, | * decurrens, tandem septem ostijs, in mare effunditur⁶ Ac Suastus, hac ætate, Axtnāgāris fluuius, ab accolis Coas uero, Chabuli amnis, nuncupatur, qui Suastum exhaurit, et a loco ubi commiscetur, ad Indum usque amnem, uterque Coas, a geographis nominatur et ab indigenis amnis Chabulicus [* Quo ab oriente sole Arachosia continetur, quæ inter Indum et Arachotum interiecta est⁷] A mense Junio dimidiato, ad mensem usque Augustum | dimidiatum, Indus amnis, non pluuiarum imbrium caussa, sed quod caloribus, nives * liquescunt,⁸ adeo crescit ut aquarum uis, * ut ferunt,⁹ mare discindat, et quadraginta, fere, millibus passuum, a littore, dulcis aqua, in salo hauriatur Vocitatur uero Indus, ab ignara

¹ 1st miraculo

² 1st laxationem

³ Nearly every place name on this page has been underlined in pencil by the anonymous commentator

⁴ 1st ut uadum uix possit ab elephantibus transiri

⁵ 1st Paropanisadis

⁶ 1st sese effundens [2ndly ferens], tandem sese effundit

⁷ Later addition, and cancelled

⁸ 1st liquentur

⁹ Later addition

plebe, ut plurimum, in ea regione, Nilabhus, quod cæruleam aquam, Persicè sonat
 4 nomine | (ut fit) ab euentu imposito, nam in his angustijs, quibus transitus est, ad
 Paropanissadas, propter amnis profunditatem, cæruleo colore aqua, magno impetu
 decurrit ¹

F 69b 1 Ad Indî ripam, Zelaldinus cum castra haberet nihil habuit || antiquius, quam
 The Dilazaks send timber for building boats and a bridge
 Delazacquum animos, sibi conciliare, ut sibi *fluuiatiles naues,² et materiam sup-
 peditarent, *ad pontem construendum, et cymbis commode, castra traducenda,³
 acciditque *Regi⁴ ex sententia, ut principes viri duo, genere *Delazacques,⁵ qui
 2 graues inimicitias, mutuo gerebant, *quo⁶ suis rebus prospicerent, ex transindana
 regione, ad eum venirent, quos mutuo conciliauit, atque eorum | diligentia, breui,
 materiæ magnam copiam, comparauit *qua plures quadraginta, lintres ædificauit,⁷
 totidemque ex auxilijs, *Delazacquum⁸ adiunxit

Councils of war Hunting
 Hæc dum aguntur, noctu, crebra consilia, de bello gerendo cogit et quid facto
 opus sit, statuit Venatu interdum sese oblectat spectacula præbet, diuitias osten-
 3 tat, atque his studijs, maximas | curas, quodam quasi condimento, *miscet, ac
 Amusements Sorcerers Astrologers
 temperat,⁹ et *nisi in consilium, ueneficos,¹⁰ et diuinatores adhibuisset, qui auguria,
 et stellarum prænuntia, captarent, quorum nutu subsisteret, aut iter arriperet cætera
 4 regni peruenit, agere et cum longe inferiore, decertaturus, | omnia prospicere institu-
 On the alert
 erit Quod magis mirandum, est, atque suspiciendum, in imperatore, quamplurimis
 uictorijs insolente

Verum non ignorabat, esse incertos exitus pugnarum, martemque communem
 atque licet, numero superaret hostis aciem, uirtute, illam esse præstantiorem Præ-
 F 70a 1 terea, cum secum || ipse cogitaret, esse sibi, cum fratre, quem alioqui diligeret, prodi-
 A hesitates pursuing M Hakim
 torum, et perfugarum mendacijs decepto, decertandum, a pugna deterrebat Ac
 cum illum, sese in fugam dedisse, accepisset Sacerdoti renuntiavit "Mirsachi-
 mus," ait, "fugit Num fugientem insequar?" Cui Sacerdos, "Præstat sane
 Monserrate s advice
 2 "sistere, nec sequi fugientem quandoquidem, celsitudinis tuæ, frater est Quæ |
 "necessitudo, est satis, ut animum tuum, iure quidem offensum, emolliat, et ab eo
 "persequendo, atque delendo, reuocet Nam præstantior est laus clementiæ, quam
 " *ultionis¹¹ quæ sine multorum insontum exitio, et damno, *parari¹² non potest"—
 "Optime," inquit, et ad suos, "Videte," ait, "quam sint Sacerdotes hi, ad pacem,
 "et lenitatem proueni in ea enim, hic est sententia, ut fugienti parcamus"

Liber 2 12

3 Verum | ne sua, abusus frater, patientia impunis iterum bellum moueret, sic
 Firmness and lenity
 cum eo dimicare constituit, ut et frater, se multo inferiorem cognosceret, et ipse erga
 uictum, atque fugatum, omnia pietatis, ac clementiæ officia præstaret

Bridge Im-possible
 Atque ubi magnam *lintrium¹⁴ uim, comparauit *quibus exercitus¹⁵ trajceret
 nam pontem extruere, amnis non sinebat, qui quotidie niuib, ob magnos calores,

¹ The names of the rivers and entire passages have been underlined by the anonymous annotator on f 69a

² 1st nauigia ³ 1st ad nauiculas, et pontem construendum quo commode, castra traduceret

⁴ 1st addition. ⁵ 1st Delazacquij ⁶ 1st ut.

⁷ 1st et breuissimo dierum intervallo, plures quadraginta, mioparones excitauit

⁸ 1st Delazacquorum ⁹ 1st commiscet, et temperat. ¹⁰ 1st in consilium, nisi ueneficos

¹¹ 1st uindictæ ¹² 1st capi. ¹³ Later addition, cancelled. ¹⁴ 1st nauicularum. ¹⁵ 1st qua acies.

4 liquescentibus | augebatur filium quem Sacerdos instituebat, primæ aciei imperato-
 rem, quod a conectoribus, et diuinis, magnam inditam esse, ab astris, fortunam
 puero respondissent * (nugæ)¹ designauit Cui adiunxit, Calichumcanum, Sura-
 tensem præfectum, senem, *virum fortem¹ et experientem, cum legione Mongo-
 lorum, ac Nourancanum, *(cuius pater principis erat nutritius)² || Champanelij, in
 Gedrosia, præfectum, cum quattuor millibus equitum Xacattæorum, et Mancinum
 regulum, virum strenuum, genere Indum, simulachrorum tamen cultorem, cum ipsius
 legione, et alios auxilarios duces, cum ipsorum copijs, minoribus sane, uerum quæ
 mille equitibus saltem, * essent instructæ³ Equitatu quingentos elephantes adiecit
 obseruataque hora, nimia superstitione, | qua proficisceretur, ad ostium usque aulæ,
 filium deduxit eumque amplexatus, posteaquam more Agarenico, bene precatum illi
 est, cum * procerum⁴ comitatu, dimisit, qui eum, * lembum usque,⁵ prosequuti sunt
 Conscondit ille, et ultra flumen Indum uectus, cum suis copijs, postridie D Joannis
 Baptistæ, anni octuagesimi primi, iter instituit

3 Posteaquam Rex, | filium præmisit, cum ijs copijs ipse suam aciem instruere,
 et præsidia constituere, aggressus est Hic enim est, bellandi Mongolorum mos, ut
 nunquam, totis copijs dimicent Si cum sex millibus prouocent, habent in insidijs,
 et latebris, millia uiginti quorum a tergo, aliquot etiam millia latent, ut ad auxilia
 ferenda, si * priores⁶ cunei laborent, sint parati, | vel si fundantur, fugientes excipiant,
 sequentium impetum retardent, nouo, atque integro milite, bellum instaurent, et
 fessos hostes, terga uertere cogant, qua arte dicto citius, uicti uictoriam reportant

Mirsachimus, ubi per exploratores intellexit, principem *exercitum⁷ traduxisse,
 et cum | magnis copijs ad se uenire consilium cepit, de impetranda uenia, et fœdere,
 cum fratre feriendo, nulla proposita conditione tantum, ut bello, et seditionibus,
 incendijsque abstineret qua de caussa, fœciales cum muneribus misit qui pacem
 componerent Dona uero fuere, equi, et mulæ, quibus est, ea regio abundans, non-
 nihil etiam pecuniarum, ac rerum, ad commeatum | ut officij, ac beneuolentiæ suæ,
 erga regem, indicio essent Quæ senes duo, prolixis barbis attulerunt Hos rex,
 magna cum grauitate, et authoritate admisit procerum magno comitatu circum-
 septus Ipse a reliquo satellitio, cum solo filio, natu maximo, et aliquot pueris, ex
 prima nobilitate, seiunctus cum telo stabat Dum legationem audit, gladiatores ense,
 et * clypeo⁷ dimicant, | bubali ad luctam, ex sponsione producuntur, quasi non in cas-
 tris pugnaturus, sed in circo ageret, ut se oblectaret quo legatis, quanti fratris poten-
 tiam faceret, et suæ curiæ, atque exercitus præstantia, quanta esset, ostenderet
 Jussit uero, ut Abdulfasilius, quem ad secreta consilia, adhibebat, litteras perlegeret
 4 quas sibi gratas esse significauit At uero legatos, quam citissime | remisit

Certior uero fiebat quotidie, omnium quæ apud Paharidem filium, agebantur
 Nec castra mouere, antea constituit, quam intelligeret, filium, proxime ad fratris
 castra peruenisse Qui cum Rege erant, tantæ moræ tædio, non mediocriter afficie-
 bantur, *atque⁸ ut eum cogerent castra mutare, || (ut fama tulit) syluam, quæ ligna, ad
 ignem, exercitui ministrabat, incenderunt Suspicati tamen plerique sunt a factiosis,

¹ Later addition.² 1st principis nutritij filium³ 1st fultæ essent.⁴ 1st magnatum⁵ 1st ad mioparonem usque.⁶ 1st anteriores.⁷ 1st umbella.⁸ 1st qui.

qui Mirsachimo fauebant, fuisse incensam Cuius incendio, adeo Rex commotus est, ut extremum supplicium, incendiij authoribus, si deprehenderentur, fuerit comminatus Verum cum forte, ac temere, a pastoribus, fuisse incensam, hi, | qui regis iracundiam mitigare nitebantur illi persuasissent * Rex ut inuestigare hoc scelus quæsitores cessarent imperauit ¹

June 29, 1581
Studying an Atlas
Why are Priests celibate?
Monserate's discourse
F 72a 1
F 72b 1

Biduo, posteaquam filium dimisit, noctu Sacerdotem, ad se acciri iussit ut aliqua, ex eo quæreret, tum prophana, tum sacra Ac primum quidem, Geographiæ librum proposuit et ubinam terrarum, Lusitania esset, deinde, quam regionem ipse teneret, interrogauit | miratus, quæ nomina earum regionum, et urbium * sciremus ² Deinde quæsiuit, cur cœlibatum Sacerdos coleret quasi Dei præceptum esset, omnes viros, uxores habere videbatur enim matrimonium damnare, vel sibi ipsi adversari cum diceret cœlibatum esse bonum, ac matrimonium item bonum Cui Sacerdos, "Ignoratne celsitudo tua, ex duabus rebus bonis, contingere unam, | esse altera "meliorem? Veluti, argentum bonum est, verum melius est aurum auro scientia, "omnibus uirtus Luna quidem pulchra est sed sol pulchrior, atque præstantior" Consensit Adiunxit Sacerdos, "Igitur, ut meliora sequantur Sacerdotes, ut Christum "imitentur, ut denique curis, uxoris, || filiorum, et familiæ uacui, melius rebus diuinis, "operam suam * studiisque consumant, ³ cœlibes, et sine uxoribus uiuunt atque adeo "absque omni libidine quoniam Dei præcepto sexto, omni luxuria Christianis, imo "et hominibus omnibus, interdicitur" Obiecit Rex "Nonne asseritis, Christum "esse Deum? Num ei esse uultis temere, atque arroganter similes?" Cui Sacerdos, "Christum | quidem, Deum esse credimus, et profitemur verum simul etiam hominem Qui qua homo est, ut esset nobis exemplo castitatem coluit, non solum, "uerum etiam, in Euangelio, sæpissime commendauit Atque ut arrogantis, et "superbi esset animi, similem esse uelle Christo, qua Deus est quod etiam fieri non "posset essetque extremæ dementiæ, atque socordiæ sic | eum, per ea uirtutum "uestigia, quibus ipse institit sequi, animi est pii, ac religiosi Nam ex multis, quæ "eum adduxit caussis, ut homo fieret, una est uoluisse, ut quando in mundi creatione, et gubernatione, et alijs quæ solus Dei sunt, eum imitari nequiremus, in ijs "illum imitemur, quæ ut uerus homo, ipse exercuit cuiusmodi sunt demissio, ab-
"iectio, | castitas, paupertas, obedientia, et aliæ uirtutes, his vicinæ, et proximæ "Neque uero pictor, aut statuarius, qui quam potest accurate, et diligenter, dum "statuam depingit, aut sculpsit naturam imitari contendit dicendus esset, || uelle "sibi, uim, atque uirtutem naturæ uindicare Compertum uero est, etiamsi, summa "ope omnes nitamur, eum in ijs uirtutibus, quæ in hominem cadere possunt, imitari "multis spatijs, ab eo retro relinqui Quapropter, imitandi studium, præmio afficit "Christus, tantum abest, ut arrogantia, aut superbiæ, temeritatique attribuat"
Adiecit his Rex, "In te," inquit, | "ab Adamo, deducta generationis series, perit"
Tum Sacerdos, "Quid si, octo annorum puer, decessissem? Vel eo ipso tempore "(ut sæpissime, quam plurimis euenit) quo domum uxorem ducerem, interiissem?
'Aut si uxor fuisset sterilis? Aut ipsemet, ut sunt quam plurimi? Quid si euen-
"chus natus, aut factus fuissem, quales domi tuæ sunt quam plurimi? | Deinde, ne

¹ scilicet ab inuestigatione, eius sceleris Rex cessare imperauit

² scilicet tenemus

³ scilicet impendant.

“matrimonium præcipi, celsitudo tua, falso sibi persuadeat Sub lege naturæ, ut
 “propagaretur genus hominum, sub Moysi lege, ut se latius funderet religio, et ueri
 “Dei cultus, apud Judæorum gentem, coniugium, Deo conuente, magni fiebat
 “At uero sub lege Euangelica, cui reliquæ leges cedunt, tanquam umbra corpori,
 4 “aucto satis humano genere, Christus de coniugio ita | statuit ut cuiquam sit
 “integrum quod malit amplecti et quâ velit, insistere” Occurrit uero Rex
 (perperam quidem), “Si præceperit Deus cupiam, *ut trans amnem eat,¹ is si
 “negligat peccat”—“Vera,” inquit Sacerdos, “narras, o Rex Verum paulo ante,
 F 73a. 1 “asserui matrimonium præceptum non esse Neque tamen, in animum inducas
 “tuum, cœlibes etsi a mulieribus abstineant prole carere Est enim, animorum
 “quadam generatio, ut quos, ad fidem, et Christianas virtutes instituunt, quodam-
 “modo eorum filij dicantur, quos uero sacro flumine tingant, quorum audiant con-
 “fessiones spiritu non minus, filij sunt, quam si, corporea generatione, procreati |
 2 “essent * Liceat n dicere per te, o Rex, si me Rodolfumque audieris, si nostris dic-
 “tis fidem habueris si ab illo sacro flumine perfundaris, illius eris filius, animo,
 “magis quidem, et uerius, quam Emaûm Regis, patris tui Nam qui natura solum
 “parentes sunt, corpus tantum generant, at qui te perfuderit, animo generauerit²
 3 “Innuero, contingere quidem posse, ut præcepti | ui, ad matrimonium quis adiga
 “tur” Quæsiuit “Quisnam?” Tum Sacerdos “Rex quispiam, ut hærede,
 “paci, et tranquillitati Reipub consulat Eamque obcausam, Henricus Lusitanæ
 “Rex, cum esset sacerdos, a uiris doctis, ad coniugium, facta sibi, a Summo Ponti-
 “fice, qui interpret harum rerum, et magnus arbiter, ac moderator a Christo, Opt
 4 “Max cuius personam gerit, | constitutus est facultate adigebatur Vir tamen senex
 “et decrepitus, ac castitatis colentissimus, cœlebs, ut semper fuerat, tabe, ac senio
 “confectus, atque a matrimonio liber, quod exoptabat, interiit” Cuius exemplum,
 ideo proposuit, quod illum Zelaldinus, sanctitatis opinione ueluti Sebastianum,
 fortitudinis, animique constantiæ dignitate suspicaret, et commendaret

F 73b 1 Cœlibatus, itaque ac matrimonij quæstione, in hunc modum absoluta, ut
 The last Judgment
 When? nihil Regi occurreret, quo Sacerdotis sententiæ resisteret de extremo iudicio, et an
 Christus, facturus esset hoc iudicium, ac quando fieri oporteret, diligentissime
 2 interrogauit Vbi de cæteris Sacerdos disseruit “Tempus,” inquit, “quo futurum
 “est hoc, solius Dei scientia nouit qui sua *inexplicabili³ sapientia, | nobis uoluit
 “esse occultum Nec ipse Christus uoluit, discipulis, palam facere ne, uel temporis
 “longinquitate, desides, neu propinquitate, mæsti, tristesque redderemur sed ita
 “nos compararemus, ut ijs, quæ conceduntur, bono animo uteremur a uitijs, et ijs
 “quæ uetantur, incertæ diei formidine, retardaremur nihilo tamen secius, præces-
 3 “sura esse signa, quibus, eam diem | proximam esse, coniectura non inani, homines
 Its signs “ducantur” Quæsiuit “Quæ?” Ait “Inter præcipua, commemorauit Chris-
 “tus bella, et seditiones regnorum, et nationum dissidia quibus gens gentem,

¹ Ist ut amnem traiciat.

² Cancelled in MS The text was first Liceat n dicere per te, o Rex, si me audieris, si meis dictis fidem habueris si a me sacro flumine tingaris, si tinctus peccato quæ postea admiseris, confitearis, mihi eris filius, animo, magis quidem et uerius, quam Emaûm Regis patris tui Ille enim corpus tantum genuit, at qui te perfuderit, animo generauerit.

³ Ist ineffabili

“regnum regna, inuadet, uastabit, occupabit, ut nostra memoria, *fieri¹ frequentissime
“videmus”

Hæc Rex attentissime audiuit Tum deinde, de Euangelio quædam, tenuiter,
4 et nugatorie, | fidei exsors, quæsiuit Ac pedetentim, eo deuenit oratio, ut de
Mahammede, et librorum discrimine, interrogaret Scripsit hic nequissimus im-
Muhammad, the Para-
clete
F 74a 1 postor, in Euangelio, sui mentionem fieri, et *ipsum venturum¹ promitti uoluitque
impijssimus nebulo, et nequissimus blatero persuadere, se sub Sancti Spiritus nomine
a Christo fuisse significatum Nec ueritus est, sibi Mustafaa, || hoc est, paracleti,
atque aduocati nomen attribuere asserens hominum qui crederent, sibi scilicet a Deo,
traditum esse patrocinium Quo fit, ut Agareni, persuasum habeant, Mahammedis,
in Euangelio, mentionem fieri Quod cum Christiani negant ipsi Christianos,
scripturam Euangelij, corrupisse existimant et id Christianis obijciunt Ac cum
2 Græcarum litterarum, sint omnino ignari, sub | nomine pharaglitaa, quod a paraclete,
corrupte distorserunt (*opera transfugarum et fidei desertorum e Græcia, uel fortas-
sis iam inde a Sergio monacho Constantinopolitano, Nestorij sectatore, qui Græcas
litteras callebat et Mahammedi se adiunxit Alcoranique consarcinandi adiutor atque
adeo author fuit)² Mahammedem, in Euangelio, promissum fuisse dicunt Quorum
persuasioni fauet, corrupti nominis, etymologia, et conficta origo, nam pharag i e ,
*phare,³ Hebræis, Arabibus, et Persis discrimen, aut distinctionem, sectionemue
sonat, litaa quidem, cum nihil significet, nec Arabicè, nec Persice, somniant Persarum
3 magistri, | uim habere participij, quod significet faciens ut discrimen faciens,
nebulo ille dicatur Quæ interpretatio, propterea, Agarenis plurimum arridet, quod
Alfurcan, libri nomen, a pharag, originem habeat et in capite Albacaraa (id est cap[ut]
uaccæ) discriminatorem esse librum suum, Mahammedes scripsit Atque ut suo
4 eos jugulemus gladio si confictæ uocis significatione, | uti liceat, apte quidem
In what sense right? Mahammedem, pharaglitam, discrimen uidelicet afferentem, dicemus cum a Christo
diuersa doceat, a quo se missum falso, et impudenter iactat Verum, *contra eos,
In what sense wrong? non esse ipse Spiritus Sanctus Euangelica ipsa autoritate efficitur, quam illi in nos
detorquent⁴ Nam de Spiritu Sancto, hæc Christus prænuntiauit, “Paracletus autem
F 74b 1 Spiritus || Sanctus, quem mittet Pater, in nomine meo, ille uos docebit omnia, et
suggeret uobis omnia, quæcumque dixerò uobis” Atque iterum • “Cum autem
uenerit Paracletus, quem ego mittam uobis, a Patre, Spiritum ueritatis, qui a Patre Jo 15, d. 26.
procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me” Rursus “Cum autem uenerit Jo 16, b 13
Spiritus ueritatis, docebit uos omnem ueritatem Non enim loquetur a semetipso,
2 sed quæcumque audiet | loquetur et quæ uentura sunt, annuntiabit uobis Ille me
clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit uobis” Quam uero non diuersa tan-
tum, atque contraria *(ut de cæteris conticescam),⁵ uerum etiam δις δια παρῶν (ut aiunt)
pugnantia hic malorum Dæmonum interpres, ab optimo hominum Satore, atque
Vindice Christo afferat vel cæco, ab ipsa etiam natiuitate, apertum exploratumque
3 est Ob quam caussam, | Rex a Sacerdote quæsiuit . num Christus, in Euangelio de
Mahammede loqueretur? ac quoddam eius nomen, num reperiretur? Respondit
Muhammad not named in the Gospel

¹ In MS ipse uenturus² Later addition³ Perhaps to be read phara Later addition⁴ 1st Verum, uel eo maxime, non esse ipse Spiritus Sanctus deprehenditur

- Sacerdos, peculiarem Mahammedis mentionem, non fieri, in Euangelio a Christo multorum uero falsorum uatum, qui essent futuri, fieri sed communi nomine nec eius nomen proprium reperiri. Quasiuit num Mahammedes ille esset, qui uenturus in ipso orbis interitu omnibus est aduersaturus? (quem Agareni Dijal nominant) *Dijal Anti Christus 2*
- Respondit Sacerdos. "Mimime. At uero, quoniam Ismaelitici generis est, et Euangelio, et Legi contradicit et bellum aduersus omnes gentes, qui ipsius dogma non admiserant suscepit doctores plurimi, e nostris, de Mahammede illa uerba interpretantur. Manus eius contra omnes et manus omnium contra eum, et e regione, uersatorum fratrum suorum figet tabernacula." — "Quibus," ait, "in rebus, Legi, et Euangelio contradicit?" — "A primo ingressu libri, ad calcem usque praeter paucas sententias, quis repetit, ut sibi similitudinis opinionem, conciliet, quot uerba scripta cum Euangelio & Moysae pugnant. Lex uero & Euangelium, nihil aliud, quam cum Mahammede consentiunt." — "Quid igitur," ait, "Diseresim, *re*, antequam, esse existimatis?" — Ac subridenti cunctantique Sacerdoti occurrit, *Genes 16 c 12*
- "De qua tanta tuorumque de "Synthemite, *re* " Alcorano sententiam." Tum Sacerdos. "Mahammedes profecto ait, Deum sibi illum librum tradidisse at nos, ueneri esse mittere. Nam Deus quod in uno ait, in alio non solet negare aut sibi repugnare contrariusque esse. Lex (inquit) et Euangelium, libri Dei, idem dicunt. Alcoranum, diuersi libris, et longissime diiuncta. Quapropter, necesse est dicere aut Legem Psalmos et Euangelium non esse libros sacros, ut Alcoranus, *Alchor cap 2 Alacora Alehor Arab cap 97 Lat 107 in norte alchadera*
- "et sacris numeretur aut Alcoranum propheta esse librum, fictum, et commentitium ut tres illos sacros esse statuamus." Rex responsionem attente accepit, et coniecit. At Abulfisihus occurrit. "Lex, et Euangelium, diuersi libri sunt." Tum Sacerdos. "Sunt quidem diuersi libri et diuersis temporibus scripti sed diuersi inuicem, et pugnantia non continent. At Alfurcanum, et illis et sibi ipsi contraria pleraque continet. Ac disciplina profecto sacrorum omnium librorum eadem est. Et Legem Deus per Moysen, Israëlitice genti, quam ad aduentum usque Christi ducerentur, misit cuius aduentu finem accepit." —
- F. 75b 1 "Quare, inquit "secundum continet disciplinam. *prior liber, finem habuit, et secundus receptus est." Cui Sacerdos. "Hominum captui Deus Opt Max quasi omnium hominum pater, sese accommodat. Quemadmodum enim pater, *The Old Law perfecting the New*
- 2 "aliud nutrimentum infanti, aliud puero, aliud adolescenti filio tribuit et alijs studijs, in pueritia, alijs in adolescentia instituit sic Deus Iudaeis, tanquam
- 3 "pueris, quos i gentilitijs Egyptiorum superstitionibus, et corruptis moribus, ad suum cultum pertrahere uolebat ita cibum *diuisit et modificauit, ut esset illis utilis. Quo factum est, ut multis caeremonijs implicitos, quadam quasi lenocinio "sacrificiorum quibus erant assueti, eo traxerit, ut cum Aegyptij, Dæmonijs, ipsi
- "Deo Opt Max litarent. At jam firmiore hominum aetate, non Iudaeis solum, sed omnibus hominibus, solidum cibum, in Euangelio *coxit et conduxit quo caeremonijs, quae sunt tanquam cortex, et umbra uirtutum, relictis, Deo uniuersus hominum catus descenderet. Et Legem quidem, atque Euangelium, animabus

“hominum, præbere nutrimentum, manifestum est Legem quidem, infantis, Euan-
 gelium, firmæ ætatis tantumque in condiendi, & coquendi modo, discrimen
 “habere” — “At,” inquit Abdulfasilius, “Alcoranum nutrimentum etiam præstat”

*Assumit
quod est in
controuersia*

4 — “Minime uero,” ait, sed * uenenum¹ Nam | quæ ab Euangelio, et Lege, adeo
 “disiuncta disciplina est, non plus, emolumentum animis afferet, quam corporibus
 “uenenum” Veniam uero Sacerdoti petenti, ne qui aderant Agarenî, Regi
 succenserent, si quid liberior, *illo connuente,² in Mahammeddem dixisset ||
 F 76a 1 accensus Rex, “Per Deum,” inquit, “non is ego sum, qui his rebus offender
 “Tantummodo uerum inuestigo, et per *Rhohalcuduz³ (Spiritus Sanctum
 “induxit) te obtestor, ut ueritatem explices, nihil ueritus, Mahammeddi conuitia
 “dicere” Et cum ad uocem *Rhohalcuduz,³ Sacerdos caput inclinasset ijs qui
 2 aderant Rex dixit, “Jesus Christus est” Ac dissimulauit | Sacerdos, quid esset
 A confounds discriminis, inter Jesum Christum, et Spiritum Sanctum quoad personas docere, eo
 the H Ghost quod iam multa nocte, locus, et tempus, tantæ disputationi deerat et subiecit se
 quidem quæ crederet, et sciret, bona fide explicasse Et surgente Rege, ut iret
 cubitum, huic disputationi, finis est impositus

3 Cum itaque Mirsachimus, se bello peti, eoque graui cerneret, optabat | certamen
 declinare, pacemque, antea componi, quam manus cum fratre consereret et
 cedendi inijt consilium Quod quidem fecisset, nisi Faridumcanus, vir magnæ apud
 eum existimationis, et bellica uirtute, consilioque clarus, ob ueteres inimicitias, quas
 cum Zelaldino, quem improbe deseruerat, gerebat magno studio, atque conatu
 4 obtitisset Qui ut sibi prospiceret, | timebat enim, in manus Zelaldini incidere,
 miserum Mirsachimum pessumdedit, atque ad exitium adduxit Dicebat enim,
 Zelaldini copias, fuscorum quorundam, et gregariorum paucorum Indorum, eorumque
 F 76b 1 exlegum, et simulachrorum, cultorum, || multitudine constare, sibi caussam fauere,
 delecto equite, instructum esse denique non formidare, aut *defugere⁴ debere, cer-
 tamen

Quod cum Zelaldinus, ab exploratoribus, et filij nuntijs, qui frequentissimi ex
 Paharidis castris, uentitabant Mirsachimum aciem, ut resisteret instruere, contra

2 quam, forte significauerat per fæciales, cognouisset ut omni euentui, præsto | esset, [*fælia es*]
 anteaquam amnem transiret, legatos fratris, et sororis a se dimisit et sororis legato,
 aureæ pecuniæ, non parum dono dedit legatos Mirsachimî, uilibus uestibus, donauit

Quos ubi dimisit *trans amnem ire,⁵ bis est aggressus, sed inani ueneficorum,
 et augurum superstitione, prohibitus, *pedem retulit⁶ Auspicijs tandem permissus,

3 *traiecit⁷ | et in ora Coæ, duobus fere passuum millibus, ab eo loco, ubi cum Indo
 commiscetur, castra poni iussit Et usque adeo Regi, Christianus Sacerdos, cordi
 erat ut in tantis negotijs, illius minime obliuisceretur sed duci cuidam, curam
 eius traducendi demandaret Fuit enim, adeo difficilis Indi traectio, ob nauicu-
 4 larum paucitatem, ut reguli ipsi, atque procures, | magna cum difficultate traicerent

Nomen huius regionis a Regia urbe (ut mos est his gentibus) Chabulum est
 Quæ tribus interstitijs distinguitur alterum est cis Coam, alterum ultra Coam infra

¹ 1st aconitum

² Later addition

³ 1st Rhohalcudz

⁴ 1st detrectare.

⁵ 1st amnem traicere

⁶ 1st pedem reduxit

⁷ 1st fluuium traiecit

Abu-l Fazl's
assumption

F 76a 1

A confounds
Christ with
the H Ghost

Faridūn
Khān, M
Hakim's evil
genius.

F 76b 1

The embassy
dismissed

A's sister

Omens

A encamps
beyond the
Indus

Countries
west of the
Indus

- F 78a 1 "Filiū esse diffitentur Quos Armeni, Græci, Ægyptij, Syri, Chaldæi, Latini,
 "Christiani denique omnes, repellunt non minus, quam Judæos, et Agarenos Hoc
 "enim Christianis, et Agarenis, Judæis, Nestorianisque interest quod Christiani,
 "uno consensu, Christum, Dei Filiū esse, constantissime asseuerant at Agareni,
 "Judæi, Nestoriani, perfricta fronte pari consensu negant || Hæc ideo dixerim, o
 "Rex, ne celsitudini tuæ, falsum subrepat, dissidium, in ea re, aut controuersiam
 "inter Christianos esse Cum enim Christianorum religio sacrorum librorum
 "authoritate nitatur, idque illi, plerisque in locis edoceant, nulla potest, huius
 "ueritatis dubitatio, uerorum Christianorum, cordibus obrepere Nec tamen admiror,
 2 "nostrarum rerum ignarum, facile | decipi verum cum prudentia hic præditus sit
 "non possum non, huius incuriam, accusare qui cum a me possit, rerum quæ
 "ad nos spectant, ueritatem cognoscere malit incerta, coram celsitudine tua,
 "affirmare "

Explaining
pictures

Images in the
Old Law

The Ark of
Noah

A kisses a
picture of
Christ

Murād and
Naurang
Khān in
danger

- Tum *Sacerdos ¹ iussu regis, libros euoluens, et ex signis, ansam capiens, quid
 sibi uellet, fœderis arca, quid, in ea seruaretur, quid aurum candelabrum, quid
 3 aurea | panum mensa, rudi minerua, pro captu audientium explicauit Quoniam
 uero Agareni, sacrarum imaginum cultum, detestantur de propitiatorij, et Delubri
 angelorum simulachris, fusius disseruit ut ostenderet, falsorum deorum simulachra
 fieri, Deum tantummodo, prohibuisse, eisque cultum, et uenerationem adhiberi
 4 at sanctorum, fieri statuas, et | signa minime Nam ille ipse, qui præcepit . "Non
 facies tibi sculptile" angelorum figuras, pingi et sculpti, in suo tabernaculo, et templo
 imperauit Qui quidem, cum Deus sit, et non mutetur, nec etiam sit obliuiosus,
 impium erit credere, sibi ipsi aduersari, contrariumue esse Quare religiosi viri,
 F 78b 1 loca Scripturæ, | quæ mutuo pugnare uidentur diuino afflati numine, germana
 adhibita interpretatione, conciliant Qui sculptilis, et simulachri nomine, dæmonum,
 et manuum deorum figuras tantum intelligi, interpretantur quas coli pro Deo, mundi
 opifex Deus, utriusque legis, præcepto cauit Quare falso, simulachrorum culturæ,
 2 Christianos insimulari qui Dei, et Diuorum imagines depingunt, | sculptunt, uene-
 rantur Disputatum est præterea, de Nôæ arca, quam Christi Seruatoris typum
 fuisse, apertissime ostendit Quibus quidem rebus, non parum Rex affici uidebatur,
 easque attente, sane accipiebat uerum se alijs rebus, animum quandoque aduertere,
 simulabat ne suis, ad fidem Christianam, flecti uideretur At Christi effigiem, |
 3 *coram omnibus uenerari et osculari nihil est ueritus .
 Chabul interea, parum fauste pugnatum est, cum enim primam aciem, quattuor
 millium equitum, quam Nourancanus, *Cutubdicanī filius, ductabat, ² Mirsachimus,
 cum iusto exercitu, quindecim millium equitum Mongolorum, adortus esset et
 Mancini phalanx, quæ suppetias erat latuit, cessasset Nourancanus uero, * Mancinum
 4 ut sibi | quam citissime, suppetias iret, rogare cogeretur, ³ in acie Palharidis, trepi-
 datum esse fertur et paucos terga uertere instituisse Quod ubi princeps intellexit,
 F 79a 1 ex equo desiliens, correpta hasta, se ne latum quidem unguem, || etsi a totis hostium

¹ Later addition

² ist nihil ueritus est coram omnibus exosculari

³ ist ductabat, Cutubdī filius.

⁴ ist ut sibi Mancinus, quam citissime, suppetias iret, ipsum rogare cogeretur

**Murād's
bravery** copijs, solus peteretur, et telis conficeretur, ab eo loco pedem relaturum Quod si
superstes, ex eo periculo esset, optime in memoria habiturum qui se deseruissent
**Mān Singh
to the rescue** Hāc pueri constantiā (erat enim natus annos tantum duodecim) et obiurgatione,
2 et laboranti, peneque cedenti, auxilium peropportunē tulisset, et | elephantum cunei
**M. Hakīm
falls out with
Faridūn
Khān and
retreats** aduentarent, quorum aspectu, equi *non assueti,¹ exterreri, ac perturbari solent,
tum etiam princeps, suam aciem, in aperto campo collocasset Mirsachimus cum
Faridumcano expostulat, quod se decepisset (affirmauerat enim* exiguas² esse fratris
3 copias) maleque, et negligenter excubias | egisset, quandoquidem, se inscio, tantus
exercitus *in suum esset regnum inductus³ Et receptui cani, ante iussit, quam
Mancini acies adueniret atque in hunc modum, diremptum est praelium

**Murād
awaits or-
ders** Paharis uero, more maiorum, castra sua, et acies instruxit, et eodem loco,
tamdiu constitit quoad patris imperium, quid facto sibi opus esset, acciperet
4 Mos uero, aciei instruendæ, | apud eam gentem, hic est ut equitum turmae, in
**The Moghuls
in battle
array** modum lunæ, in tres cuneos distribuuntur medium scilicet, *dextri cornu atque
sinistri⁴ Pedites his* cuneis⁵ succedunt, tertio loco, elephantess collocantur, a tergo
F 79b 1 reliqui exercitus,, nunquam uero in illius fronte, tum ne hostium conspectum
eripiant, tum, etiam ne cæsi perturbate fugiant, qua fuga suorum acies furibundi
petunt, perturbant, conculcant, perimunt Ac cum in bellum educuntur, altero è
cornibus, aut ambobus, per latera prodeunt, hostesque medios adoriri, eorum duces
2 nituntur Et elephantum quidem turmae, plus terrent quam | officiant potiusque,
ad ostentationem, quam ad uictoriam reportandam utiles sunt æqualeque est
discrimen hostium, et sociorum, cum uulnerati obuuium quemque adoriantur facileque
tormentis abigantur punctique in proboscide, pedem uelocissime referant quibus
si equi assuescant, nihil mouentur Balochiorum, qui camelis insident, *turmae,⁶
3 in reliquo equitatu | numerantur Quorum si ea copia sit, ut *phalangem⁷ iustam
efficiant certo loco, simul consistere iubentur Par autem fere est, equorum, et
camelorum ad pugnandum agilitas, et ut ita dicam, dexteritas Nec pugnacitate
sunt dispaes Nam cameli dentibus, et calcibus, certant Quodsi quenquam
4 corripiant, in eum genibus incumbunt, tamdiuque premunt, et tidunt, | quoad
enecent, miserumque conficiant

**A reaches
Peshāwar
[Pir Shahr?]
and hastens
to Kābul** Rex itaque, ab ea statione, cum Pirxaurum uenisset, rerum, quæ in castris
Paharidis agerentur, certior factus, cum delecto equitatu, et auxiliaribus, *Dela-
zacquium⁸ ducum turmis, magnis itineribus, Chabulum uersus ire contendit rebus
F 80a 1 in hunc modum, ex disciplina militari, sapientissime constitutis Nam trans
Indum, intra fines sui regni dimidiam legionem cis Indum, ad Coam, tertiam fere
legionis partem, consistere imperauit quæ amnistransitum, *diligentissime⁹ tuerentur
**Troops left
in India
Salim and
Bhagwān
Dās to camp** Principi natu maximo, qui ei erat charissimus annos nato quattuordecim, sc ut in
2 extrema acie, cum reliquis copijs et uniuerso | com meatu, ac thesauris, tormentisque,
ac reliquo belli apparatu sequeretur et ut Gelalabadi tridui a Chabulo itinere, ad
**at Jalālābād
with the
rear**

1 1st desueti

- 15 paucas

* 1st suis esset *armis inductus

+ 1st dextri alterum tertium sinistri cornu

5 1st copias

1st phalanger

: 1st turmas

15 Delazacquorum

+ 15 accuratissime me.

Coæ fluminis oram, castra poneret, ibique consisteret, edixit Et in his castris vxores, et filias, reliquamque mulierum cateruam, et rem omnem familiarem, priuatamque suppellectilem reliquit At Bagoandam Regulum, Mancini patrem, |
 3 domus principis præfectum, et militum magistrum, constituit

Dilazāk con-
 tingent
 300 Fanatics
 join the
 ranks

Regem vero, præter duos Delazacquirorum duces, quos supra demonstrauius, quorum quisque, ad quattuordecim equitum milia, in prælium educit iuuenis quidam, cum suorum satellitio, trecentorum fere militum, prosequutus est genere
 4 Paropanisas, uel Indoscytha Cuius pater nouæ sectæ | author, ui quos poterat, in suam sententiam, pertrahere nitetur ac nisi uicinorum principum diligentia, e medio fuisset sublatus, non parum negotij Paropanisadis, uel Indoscythis, Gandaris, Goriadis, et Suastenis, ipsisque Mongolis exhibuisset Habebat enim sicariorum et

F 80b 1

ære alieno oppressorum,¹ || hominum quingentorum manum qui rerum nouarum, ut est natura Agarenorum (dummodo Mahammeddis, honorifica commemoratio, non relinquatur) studio, et rei alienæ cupiditate, ei adhærebant seseque illi, et eius superstitioni, ita deuouerant, ut nullis, suorum principum, minis, nullis bellorum
 2 incommodis, qui absumpti sunt, et qui superstites remanserunt, ab | eius disciplina, neque a filij obsequio, qui ex patris exitio, euasit, dimoueri unquam potuerint Qui cum intellexissent, Zelaldinum aduentare, eius se fidei commiserunt quos Zelaldinus admisit et cum omnes religiones uolet, dum in sua quemque religione, uiuere permittit religionem tueri, arbitratus est, si eos sineret, securos in suo tractu
 3 agere, suam | religionem sequi, ac more suo uiuere et denique filio sui prophetæ (ut ipsi dicunt) obsequi, honoremque tribuere

Peshāwar
 burnt down
 by M Hakīm

Porro Pirxaurum, municipium est, cum arce, in edito loco posita, nullis tamen munitionibus instructa, quam Mirsachimus aliquandiu tenuit sed cum aduentare, fratris copias, quibus Mancinus præerat, intellexit eam destituit, et intra |

4 *montium altitudines² sese recepit Pacatis rebus, contribulum duo milia, in eo municipio, præter arcis præsidia, numerari ferebatur Eo quidem tempore, exustis tectis, soli cineres uidebantur Ad eius municipij pomerium, uersus orientem solem,

A visits the
 - Jogi of
 Ghorkhatrī

F 81a 1

Joguū statio est, eius superstitionis, et habitus, *atque uestitus,³ eorum qui in Balnatī || iugo degunt, quæ ab incolis, Gorcathiri uocitatur quod idem sonat, ac Gori cella Fabulantur uero, Gorum hunc, qui hic uixit, magistrum Balnatī fuisse tantamque loco, sanctitatem inesse prædicant, ut propter eius loci *sanctitudinem⁴ mundi opifex Deus, reliquum mundum *finxerit, et fabricarit⁵ Hanc Gori cellam,
 2 Rex adysse, et expansa | coma, oculis, manibusque in cælum sublatis, Gorum ueneratus fuisse ferebatur

Salīm
 ascends the
 Khalbar

Princeps, postridie quam Rex profectus est, ab eo oppido castra mouit biduoque, ad difficilem et angustum, arduumque altissimi montis, transitum *uenit, qui ab incolis Caybāri, a ueteribus Capissenus saltus dicebatur⁶ quem magno omnium labore, superauit Curauerat uero, ut arte, atque instrumentis, a fabris, |

1 The anonymous annotator has underlined in pencil nearly all the proper names on this page

2 1st saltus?

3 Later addition

4 1st sanctitatem

5 1st condiderit, et excitant

6 1st qui ab incolis Caybarus dicitur uenit The word "Caybarus" has been underlined by the anonymous annotator

- 3 et calombus, operisque castrorum, repararetur secus enim, ægre elephantēs (quorum erat magna copia) conscendere periculose camelī onustī, aliæque iumenta, atque armenta superare potuissent Quæ si prolapsa fuissent, in extremum uitæ periculum, tum ipsa tum etiam omnes, qui ipsis uehebantur, adducta fuissent In quibus
- 4 Reginæ, et filiæ, aliæque | mulieres dignitate præstantes, connumerabantur et in
The wife of Dāud Shāh
his, Daudis, Patanæorum Regis matrum familias prima, è qua tyrannus filios sustulerat Quam Zelaldinus in liberali custodia, secum deduxerat tum ob memoriam,
- F 81b 1 et ostentationem uictoriæ, suæque magnitudinis, tum etiam, ne || nouarum rerum moliendarum, occasionem Patanæis daret qui coacti, non sponte parent In cuius comitatu, filiæ ipsius aliquot ueniebant Enimuero equi, minus in hoc ascensu laborarunt Sunt enim fortes, et expediti, et ad iter quam celerrime obeundum, difficilesque transitus superandos, nati Xecus uero princeps, a præcone, denuntiari
- 2 iussit ne quis | iumentis anteuenteret regijs A quibus, ubi ascensus relictus est
Salim's gallantry towards his mother and sisters
uacuu equi minori cum periculo, hoc iter peregerunt Et princeps quidem ipse, ut matri suæ, hoc officium, sororibusque præstaret, et cæteris mulieribus, honorem deferret, in edita quadam montis rupe, tamdiu constitit, donec ad iugi fastigium
- 3 peruenirent Et | in angusta quadam planitie, ad fontem, castra posuit a quo riuus aquæ dulcis, copiosus, et qui aquationi castrorum satis esset, ad torrentem usque fluebat, cui immistus, illius uitio, dulcedinem amittebat Regium uero
- 'Alī Masjīd 4 tabernaculum, ad Ahalimexit, hoc est, Ahalidis templum fuit in quo saxum ostenditur, cui digitorum Ahalidis uestigias, | insculpta esse *falso¹ narrantur
- The fable of 'Alī Masjīd Fabula uero sic habet (nam huiusmodi narrare iuvat, ut uanitas Agarenicarum superstitionum, non tantum *inuoluta² quadam notitia, sed etiam ex singulis rebus, Christianis hominibus aperta sit) Cum Ahalis, Mahammeddis gener, orbem
- F 82a 1 lustraret, ut ad perfidiam, et superstitionem soceri || sui, exleges (Cafares dicunt ipsi) pertraheret, in eum locum uenisse dicitur, et eius regionis, Tyranni filiam rapuisse Quod cum virginis pater, intellexisset ira percitus, cum aperto Marte, nequiret cum eo pugnare, ex insidijs et superiore loco, impendit enim huic fano, præruptus quidam, et altus mons, eum conficere statuit Cum igitur, in eo loco,
- 2 Ahalis, | more Agarenico oraret demissisque oculis, in terram esset, ingens saxum in eum coniecit quod Ahalis, nihil perturbatus, et in precatione persistens, sublati manibus, excepit, noluit n capitis discrimen subire quasi uero, maior uirtus manibus, quam reliquo corpori, ad declinandum periculum, prodigioque euadendum, inesset Et ut rei *euentus³ appareret, | infixi eius digiti, in eo sunt, si Deo placet
- The fable of Khwāja Muīnu-d-dīn Chīshī at Ajmer O hominum insaniam, quibus hæc uerisimilia uidentur, quasi uero adulterum, et raptorem, miracula edere credendum sit Quo fit ut, non minus huius fabulæ fides labore, quam Qhojamundi cuiusdam, qui apud Azimirum, non procul a Fattepure, pro sancto, propterea colitur, quod Mahammeddis comes, cum | eius superstitionem suaderet, omnes qui resisterent conficeret At uero, mirum non est, homines decipi, qui temporum nullam habent rationem et qui mendacijs soleant, sibi, patriæ, sectæ ipsi, suo denique uati, honorem, et dignitatem expiscari⁴ ||

¹ Later addition² 1st common³ 1st miracle⁴ The above two paragraphs are bracketed in the MS

- F 82b 1 Templi uero huius structura, et loci dignitas suo patrono respondet Dicas enim
 potius, porcorum stabulum, quam templum Sunt enim parietina quaedam angustæ,
 The Masjid a sine tegulis, et tecto, ne quidem iunci
 ruinous
 structure
 At the Khal- Inde profectus, ad fauces quasdam, eiusdem montis uenit quibus utrinque, duo
 bar Pass
 2 uertices, magnæ altitudinis impendent ut centum pugnatores, hominum plurima |
 2 millia, transitu prohibere queant Vix enim, onustus elephas, penetrare potest Ab
 eo loco, ad cliuum eiusdem montis uenit, adeo prouum, ac præcipitem, ut uix extaret
 spatium, in quo, firmum uestigium, iumenta ponerent et pedites, deorsum currere,
 cogenterentur Quare longos circuitus, equites petere, et qui uellaturam, iumentis
 3 faciebant, compellebantur Suberat tamen campus, | qui satis erat ad castra figenda
 Camping- amplus et in eo fons, qui e rupe defluebat, juxta quem, castra metari iussit *I, loco
 ground
 nomen est Caybar, olim Capissa urbs In eo campo, obeliscus extabat, superiori,
 Other obelisk quem commemorauimus, et magnitudine, ac fabricæ dignitate, ac uetustate omnino
 of Rāmchan- par quem ferebant, Rhamxandi regni, alterum esse terminum Atque hoc solo
 dra
 4 *aditu, Paharuetus mons, a Paharopaniso, in | Indiam, uiatoribus, qui uiarum flexus
 No shorter et mæandros declinare student peruius est patetque in latum, miliaria fere
 road
 sexdecim, cuius medium ad septemtrionem, spatijs *quattuor et triginta, fere uergit,
 F 83a 1 a longitudinis uero termino, spatijs fere *decem, supra centum distat, atque ab
 Long & Lat. ortu, ad ocasum, prope decurrit
 Cæterum huic agro uersus ocasum, rupes imminet, in qua uestigia oppidi
 Ruins of *apparent Quod uulgo, Landiqhanâ, ab indigenis uocatur hoc est, mulierum
 Landi
 Khāna
 2 domus, ac fabulæ circumferuntur, non absimiles illis quæ de Amazonibus narrantur
 Ferunt enim, hoc oppidum, | olim mulieres incoluisse, quæ bellum cum uicinis
 gentibus gerebant atque ne genus eorum extingueretur, uiatores ab itinere, facto
 Indian impetu abripiebant, susceptosque masculos, aut necabant, aut exponebant fœminas
 Amazons educabant et ad pugnam instituebant quæ tandem uictæ, ac loco pulsa nomen
 3 illis ruinis reliquerunt Ac sublata | fabula, eo in loco, perditæ mulieres habita-
 runt quæ similiter, ac, seruorum *fugitiuorum manus nomen loco dederunt
 Ruins of Est enim, haud procul a Landiqhanâ, uestigium quoddam oppidi, quod Xare-
 [Shahr-i- Golāmum, hoc est, seruorum ciuitatem dicunt quam serui fugitiui, ut suam liber-
 Ghulām ?] tatem tuerentur, condiderunt qui furtis, uictum querebant a quo loco feruntur,
 4 difficili negotio, | fuisse pulsæ Est enim *aspera & montosa regio syluisque
 *munita in quibus, cum bello a uicinis tyrannis petebantur, sese abdebant *ex-
 cursionesque, inde in uicinos agros facere et uias obsidere ac præda diuites, suum
 4 Huge cis- asyllum repetere soliti erant ¹⁰ || Ac ne æstate, siti laborarent *specus quattuor, miræ
 terns
 F 83b 1 amplitudinis, et altitudinis ¹¹ sibi foderunt ad quos collum omnes aquas deducebant
 Bissaur
 [Basawal ?] His angustijs egressus princeps in ora Coæ, ad oppidum Bissaurum, e regione,
 Bedaulat
 Rock

1 Pencil notes by X

2 Later addition

3 1st adytu, Paruetus mons, a Paropaniso, in Indiam, uiatoribus, qui magnos uiarum circuitus, et abductissima dispendia, lucrifacere student

4 1st tribus

5 1st duodeuiginti

6 1st uisuntur

7 1st profugarum.

9 1st tractus ille, montosus, et asper

10 1st munitus

10 1st excursionesque, in uicinos agros faciebant et uias obsidebant ac præda diuites, suum asyllum repetebant

11 1st cisternas quattuor, miræ magnitudinis, et profunditatis

Beedaulati montis, castra collocavit Est uero Beedaulatus, saxeus quidam mons,
 2 duo millia pedum altus longus quattuor, circuitu octo fere, | *e terra eminentis,
 lapidis qui sine rimis,¹ solidus, et integer est ac denique, unum omnino saxum
 Qui quidem mons a reliquis, uicorum montium iugis,* deuexis omni ex parte late-
 ribus disiunctus, uersus solis ortum procurrit frontemque exporrigit, et duobus
 3 fere millibus passuum, ab alijs iugis montium, abstrahitur Quo in monte, diligentis-
 sine obseruatum est et | omnium ore circumferebatur non arborem, non herbam,
 nihil denique uiride ne muscum quidem apparere Ob quam caussam, Emaumus
 Zelaldini pater cum in eo loco constitisset et montis sterilitatem, obseruasset ei
 nomen Beedulat hoc est *αξυπη, quod latinis est, sine gratia, imposuit In cuius
 4 latere quod ad occasum solis respicit plurimarum cellarum ostia, | *τρύγοι[†] forma,
 apparent quibus ad fornecem tectumque lapideum intratur, in quibus, heremitæ
 egisse feruntur Locus est sane asper, et ad uitam austere, et in luctu, squaloreque
 traducendam aptus Nec mihi persuadeo, gentilium heremitas, qui sola ostentatione
 F 24a 1 religionis auram populi tantum, captare instituunt in eam se uitæ asperitatem,
 unquam coniecisse cum potissimum, hac ætate, desertæ sint quæ hoc nebulonum
 genere ibundat Dixerim potius has cellas *a solitarijs Christianis, quos heremitas
 dicimus, fabricatas et inhabitatas fuisse quoniam D Barptolomæum, in his
 St Barthole- regionibus Euangelium disseminasse memorie a Patribus proditum est [*Chabuli^{Plin lib 6}
 mew's Mis- n regio a ueteribus India non secus, atque Aria, Aracosia, et Gedrosia annume-
 sion rabitur quis prefecturas eiteriorem Indiam uno uocabulo appellabant *At D
 Barptolomæum in Indiam eiteriorem quæ ei in orbis terrarum sortitione obuenerat,
 progressum fuisse in Ecclesiasticis historijs legimus | Christianos, hanc regionem
 2 tenuisse constat Hoc autem uitæ genus *horridum atque aridum[‡] | antiquis Patri-
 bus maxime cordi erat et iuxta *flumina ac riuiolos libenter habitabant Pulsis
 uero Christianis, sine religiosi habitatoribus, ad pietatem colendam, quam accom-
 modatissima, opportunoque loco *et in silice excavatæ cellæ[§] relictæ sunt ut uia-
 toribus, fabulandi argumentum præbeant

cap [16?]

In[ra] cum
de te[m]pore
dice[ur] 6

Ab hac statione, tribus fere milliaribus, Beoxpalangum, | *insana lynx,^{||}
 3 arx, apparet a qui Mirsachimus, ad se præsidia euocauit quam cæteri populares
 deseruerunt ne a Zelaldino opprimerentur
 At Jalalabad Biduo Gelalabadam peruenit quod *ardorem mentis ad Dei cultum^{||} sonat
 Castra in ripa Coæ, milliaris ab ipso municipio posuit quo in loco, ut patris imperata
 4 faceret eius reditum expectant Eo etiam in loco, Sacerdos constitit | Noluit
 enim Rex, ut ardui itineris, et concitatæ profectionis, homo imbellis, et studijs reli-
 gionis, ac litterarum deditus, *incommoda¹ potissimum uale tudine, laborem subiret
 At uero filio commendauit, ut non minore sollicitudine, illi prospiceret, quam ipse
 solebat Quod princeps, ut erat patris amantissimus, eiusque || dicto, diligentissime

1 1st eminentis atque emicantis lapidis, qui sine commissura

1st quibus continuus est, diuis, utrimque

Sic, instead of ελαπης

† Sic, instead of τρύγοι

§ 1st a Christianis heremitis fabricatis

6 Later addition

7 Still later addition

1st fluctua

1st fact e, in uiuo lapide casulo

10 1st insanus [leo?]

|| 1st zelum uel zelum ad scrututem

11 1st affecta

Thus
named by
Humayun

A former
hermitage

F 24a 1

Monserrate's
guess about
its origin

St Barthole-
mew's Mis-
sion

Fort of
Behosh
Palang?

At Jalalabad

Monserrate
to stop there

Salim's
kindness

F 84b 1

- Playing the King obsequens Sacerdoti uero beneuolus, summa cum beneuolentia, et amore præstitit Qui dum Gelalabadī fuit, ut patrem imitaretur, statis horis, quotidie, in publicum præcinctus ense, prodibat et satellitio iuuenum, suorum armigerorum, et militum stipatus, ad quos, eius diei excubiæ, spectabant negotijs expediendis, conficiendisque
- 2 cum | Bagoanda *regulo,¹ operam dabat Atque non uulgare prudentiæ specimen dedit, in sedando tumultu, qui in castris exortus, metum, trepidationemque incussit ne forte proditio esset *Meacanium² enim, cursorum *tribunum,³ cum manu militum misit qui ediceret tumultuantibus, ut extemplo conquiescerent, sin minus e uestigio necarentur
- 3 Atque hic quidem, Paropanisi | tractus, intra Cáybarum, Caybarénique saltum ad urbem usque Chabuli, montosus est, et syluestris, et toto fere anno in montium fastigijs, niuum candore *fulget⁴ Nam ipso Quintili mense, Baalanum iugum, quod ab oppido uersus *austrum,⁵ duodecim passuum millibus distat, è niuib. frigidum aerem exhalabat Quem è regione, miliario ab urbe, | mons alius niuosus excipiebat,
- Extremes of cold and heat 4 atque in illam planitiem *identidem reciprocantem impellebat⁶ Quo factum est, ut cum placido cœlo, Gelalabadum æstate utatur optimo loco castra posita, aura frigida, in maximis anni caloribus uterentur Ac fecit rerum opifex Deus, ne uitæ
- F 85a 1 necessarijs, eius regiones incolæ, destituerentur,|| ut* interualla⁷ quædam agrorum, a niuosis montibus *circumsepta,⁸ eos solis ardores conciperent, quibus nihilo essent, minus *apta,⁹ ad procreandos fructus quam aliæ regiones, quæ a niuib. longe disiunctæ sunt Abundat enim, Gelalabadicus ager, vineis, hortisque, quibus insitæ sunt *pyrus, uites, mali tum granatæ, tum persicæ, et mori,¹⁰ ficusque, et id genus
- European fruits 2 cætera Populares prouinciæ | Patanæi sunt Præsidia Mongoli tenent Ac Patanæi, qui a Mongolis Aufgan dicuntur, agricultura uiuunt, et adminiculo iumentorum, et nauicularum *deficiuntur Terra, ipsi sarcinas ferunt, quas, insertis in laqueum brachijs, hinc dextro, hinc sinistro, ueluti, thoracem induunt et recti, sub onere incedunt At fluuijs, commeatum, bouinis utribus, pice illequefacta perlitis, uehant quibus-frumenta, et legumina includunt, et in ipsos simul colligati, |
- No boats or beasts of burden Loads how carried Down the river on inflated skins 3 rectores insiliunt et se, rapido labentis fluminis gurgiti, committunt, vt directius gubernent¹¹ Vestitu utuntur breui ad genu sunt uero musicæ, impendio dediti, et ad tibiam, et lyram libenter, et suauiter, libera, et elata uoce (Europæo more) non inclinata, et ululante (more Asiatico) canunt¹²
- Dress Music 4 Jamuero Gelalabadī arx ingenio loci, magis quam, architectorum opere, satis firma est | Alluitur enim Coa flumine, ab ortu cui prærupta ripa, et alta *imminet, et quasi¹³ minatur Hanc tenebat Faridumcanus, quam inscio, et nolente Mirsa-chimo, Zelaldini non ferens aduentum, destituit Est uero Gelalabadum,* in cliuo
- Jalālābād vacated by Faridūn Khān Its position

¹ 1st tyranno² 1st Meacanium³ 1st præfectum⁴ 1st albicat⁵ 1st occasum⁶ 1st reflectebat⁷ 1st perkones [sic]⁸ 1st circumsepta.⁹ 1st apte¹⁰ 1st pyrus et malagranata¹¹ 1st destituuntur Terra ipsi sarcinas uehant, quas ueluti, thoracem induunt, et recti, sub onere incedunt et fluuijs commeatum, bouinis utribus, uehant • quibus frumenta, et legumina includunt, et ipsis simul colligatis, directores insiliunt et se, labentis fluminis uenæ, committunt¹² This paragraph is bracketed in the MS¹³ Later addition

positum quem cingit,¹ planities quaedam, a qua, montes sese *extollere² incipiunt ad Chabulum usque

F 85b 1 Quod || *in præcelso atque edito loco ædificatum,³ tantis frigoribus hyeme
 Kābul, a
 summer
 capital and
 big mart
 alget, ut eo relicto, Rex,* eius comitatus assectatoresque, et qui in aula sunt assidui
 Gelalabadum descendere⁴ cogantur Contra uero æstate, tanta est cœli clementia,
 ut *anni tempore grauissimo et caloribus maximis, æstiu mensis et solstitia sine
 solis ardoribus transigantur Qhabulumque Gelalabado Rex commigret⁵ Eam
 urbem, duo præcipue celebrem reddunt Alterum est, regni solium, alterum, nego-
 2 tiatorum | celebritas qui ex India, Persia, et Tartaria, in eam conueniunt Est
 enim, in ipsis illorum montium, ueluti uisceribus, aut corde posita qui ueluti,
 brachijs quibusdam, in uicinas regiones, iniectis, Indiam,* Sogdianam, Bactrianam,⁶
 et Tartariam, attingunt

Orography of
 Afghānistān

3 Hi sunt Caucasus Imaus, qui etiam Caspus Paharopanisus, et Paharuetus
 quorum medius, Caucasus est In eius fronte Chabulum, | quod olim (ut remur)
 Carúra dicebatur, situm est Paharuētus, in quo sunt portæ, quas supra demons-
 trauius, ab austro, Caucasio obijcitur, Caucasij tergum, Paharopanisus tuetur, ab
 Aquilone Dextrum latus, ab ortu, Imaus tegit a sinistro, Paharuēti quaedam
 flexio, quæ deinde, æquali fere ductu, cum Paharopanisio, interiectis magnis conualli-
 4 bus, in | Aquilonem protenditur Nostra ætate, montana hæc omnia, a Chabulo, in
 eo tractu nomen habent, ac Chabuli iuga dicuntur quæ a ueteribus, promiscue,
 Paharopanisus dicebantur Temuri Claudi posteri, varijs bellis* iactati et agitati in

F 86a 1 hos montes et syluas constipati sunt⁷ unde postea effusi uniuersa prope || Indiæ
 mediterranea, occuparunt Ac ne montium nominibus, quispiam hallucinetur duo
 Old and new
 names
 *ut sibi persuadeat,⁸ necesse est Alterum, eadem continuatione, uarios flexus montes
 habere, et pro eorum uarietate uaria nomina sortiri Nam (liceat enim exemplis,
 rem illustrare) a Geographis Imaus, cum jam Caspius est et Caucasus, cum jam
 2 Paharopanisus est, et uice uersa | nominantur Alterum, nostro sæculo, longe alijs
 nominibus *loca hæc appellari quam ueterum memoria⁹ verum adhibita, non
 mediocri, diligentia, vera loca, uel saltem quæ ueris proxime accedunt, nos depre-
 hendisse vel eo, cæteris certiores, quod ea oculis conspeximus *Quod uero Paharo-
 panisum et Paharuetum scribimus in caussa est quod “pahar” ab accolis mons dicitur
 Quæ reliqua sunt, propria montium nomina feruntur ut si diceremus mons Panisus,
 mons Uētus¹⁰

Enimuero, cum princeps, Gelalabadi esset uaria uulgo, ut fit ferebantur, quæ
 3 omnia, Mirsachimo exitium, calamitatemque | comminabantur Hoc uero compertum
 M Hakīm in
 flight.
 est quod cum fratrem in castris, uicinum esse intellexisset, in fugam se coniecit, in
 qua minorem, è duobus liberis, filium amisit qui ex equo lapsus, ab acie equitum,

¹ ist in edito monte quem ambit 2ndly in edito monticulo positum, quem ambit

² ist attollere ³ ist in præcelso montis uertice positum

⁴ ist et aulici Gelalabadum descendere

⁵ ist sine æstiuis caloribus, in eo solstitia transigantur, eoque Gelalabado Rex commigret.

⁶ Later addition

⁷ ist in arctum adducti, Regni solium Chabuli posuerunt

⁸ ist ut obseruet

⁹ ist appellari

¹⁰ Later addition These last two paragraphs are bracketed in the MS

His younger son killed nec opinante, quæ concitatu cursu, ducem sequebatur, obculcatus, atque obtritus, nec postea repertus est Ille uero in editissimum, et præruptum montem, se recepit |

4 unde e superiore loco, sequenti se fratri, si sequi se pergeret, resistere, et repugnare posset qui locus, uno tantum aditu, eoque angusto, peti poterat

F 86b 1 Zelaldinus, ubi fratrem suum, sibi cecidisse cognouit per preconem, || denuntiar, A quieta the people of Kābul Chabuli præcepit, populares, ut securi essent, sibi enim, bellum cum negotiatoribus, opificibus et plebe non esse sed cum fratris exercitu, qui iam cesserat Ac cum intellexit, pacatos esse ciues, primum, agrum lustrauit, deinde ouans, et triumphator, Triumphal entry Chabulum ingressus est, et in Regiam, cum triumpho deductus, id magni potissimum |

2 æstimauit, quod in auro Regni solio, in quo pater et maiores sui sedissent, Dei beneficio, datum esset, ut ipse uno, et altero tantum, ab hoste, damni uulnere accepto, sederet

Losses a 15,000 gold mohurs seized by M Hakim At vero damna, hæc fuere Cum esset Paharis, in acie, quindecim aureorum milia, quibus stipendia, eius exercitui soluerentur, ab eo missa, ab excubijs fratris, 3 intercepta | sunt et quæstor ipse captus, iniurijsque laceratus, ac tandem postea, magno redemptus Cui Rex, socordiam exprobrauit, dicebatur enim, cum militum manum haberet, qua potuisset obsistere, metu latebras, et effugia petens, incolumis, et nullo uulnere accepto, nedum *imposito,¹ fuisse captus Iterum, cum ex insidijs, 4 Faridumcani antecursores, | Xecum Gemalum, Regis leuirum, qui cuneum, centum equitum ducebat adorti essent, hominem fuderunt Qui, tum pudore, tum etiam, Regis formidine, posito *baltheo,² Daruexj ueste indutus, aperto capite, nudisque pedibus, religiosam uitam more Agarenico, agere instituit Nam id, culpa sua, factum fuisse, noscebat qui reliquas copias, recto itinere sequi noluisset || At Zelaldinus, aspere solet, in eos, qui disciplinæ militari, non parent, animaduertere At quoniam, leuir suus erat, eum Rex, magna diligentia reuocauit et *in memoriam illi redigens uariam esse, atque incertam Martis aleam, eius mœrorem lenire, et in redeundo uerecundiam obiurgare, lenibus uerbis instituit, tantum abest, ut in illum acerbias inueniret

2 Septem uero diebus Chabuli, ut apertam, | omnibusque testatam, *relinqueret⁴ uictoriam *more maiorum suorum, constitit⁵ Ad quem soror uenit, quæ ueniam deprecata, et ut fratris uicti misereatur, ac Regnum, facti pœnitenti concederet A's sister intercedes for M Hakim hoc tantum obtinuit, * ut suæ uirtuti, fidei, felicitati Regnum Rex commendaret⁶ Sibi Kābul given to her 3 nihil esse, cum Mirsachimo, cuius ne quidem nomen nosset, aut æquo animo audiret | atque ab ea se, cum liberet, * illud repetiturum *Habitareretne⁷ Mirsachimus Chabuli, aut in eo regno, sibi nihil curæ esse Ea ut morem gereret, quod soror esset charissima, mox loco cessurum nullasque copias, aut præsidia, in regno ob fidem ipsius relicturum Hortari, ut Mirsachimo persuaderet, ne suorum studiorum, curam susci-

Threats against M Hakim

¹ 1st dato² S c

⁵ In MS "redegit" instead of "redigens" and "quo" before "eius mœrorem" The sentence thus constructed is ungrammatical — 1st in mentem illi reuocans, uariam esse, atque incertam Martis aleam, eius mœrorem lenire, et pudorem remouere, lenibus uerbis instituit, tantum abest, ut illum obiurgaret

⁴ 1st faceret⁵ 1st more maiorum suorum, cum uictoria potiuntur, [2ndly cum illam reportant] constitit⁶ 1st ut in suam tutelam Regnum Rex traderet⁷ Later addition⁸ 1st ageretne

- 4 peret Sibi satis esse ætatis, | et rerum usus, quibus sciret, quid è re sua esset, cognoscere Si conquiesceret se fratrem esse quod si pergeret insanire non fore se perinde, ac tunc erat *benignum, beneuolum, atque ad ueniam dandam, procliuem, ac facilem comperturum ¹ Posse se (si uellet) rupis angustias, in qua latebat, ocupare · ||
- F 87b 1 et commeatu, annonaque, ac quotidiano uictu carentem, tandiu fame, mediaque uexare ut a suis destitutus, esurieque enectus, manus, uel inuitus daret sed id sibi, in animo ideo non esse, quod ipsa, ut precaretur, uenisset
- A returns to Jalālabād 2 Atque ut hac oratione, sororem dimisit, mandataque scripsit, quibus regnum, *eius fidei committebat ² ad profectionem, se accinxit, indictoque | reditus die, qua copiae mouerent ipse magnis itineribus, ad Gelalabadica castra, cum parua manu, selectorum tribunorum, et equitum uenit Cui omnes, qui in castris constiterant, et in ijs Sacerdos, gratulatum occurrerunt Ac Sacerdotis gratulationem, hilari uultu accepit vel ob id maxime, quod eius opera existimaret, rei famam, ad Hispaniam, usque peruagaturam Est enim gloriæ percūpidus |
- M to make his victory known to Europe 3 Vbi primum, omnes copiae conuenerunt, Gelalabado, Fattepurum uersus, castra mouit Et cum sine cruore, bellum confectum, animaduerneret in frequentī, suorum ducum, corona, a Sacerdote quæsiuit quonam pacto Affricana clades, euenisset ? qua intra quattuor horarum spatium, quattuor reges | peremti essent ? Quidue impulsisset Sebastianum, ut suppetias Agareno ferret ? et ei confideret ? Cui, cum rem omnem ordine, Sacerdos explicasset exclamauit “ Illorum ego fortitudinem, nunquam satis laudabo, qui serio pugnant, manusque conserunt At uestram ignauiam,
- Bloodless campaign and King Don Sebastian's disaster 4 “ nunquam desinam accusare | qui magis, corporum integritati, quam æternæ bellī gloriæ, prospicitis O strenuum (inquit) et fortissimum iuuenem, qui pugnandi audus, mare traiecit, et in alienum regnum, rogatus inuasit ut suam fortunam periclitaretur ” Et cum eius naturæ sit, atque ingenij, quo Sebastianus fuit hoc est intrepidus, *et qui nullum periculum adire reformidet ³ sæpissime eius facta, et laudes percensebat |
- F. 88a 1 Cæterum Sacerdos, cum a Rege obtinuisset, ut castra bidui itinere, antecederet quo Caybareni transitus, periculum declinaret ubi eum collem conscendit, in apertum discrimen deuenit, ne lapidibus necaretur Est enim locus, plurimis lapidibus instructus, quos *aquarum proluues, ⁴ conuehit Nam quidam Agarens, propius ad eum accessit, ac quæsiuit “ Credisne, | in nostrum prophetam ? ” Cui Sacerdos “ Minime gentium ” Tum Agarens “ Quare ? ”—“ Quia,” inquit Sacerdos, “ non fuit propheta ” Rursus “ Credisne (ait) in Alcoranum ? ”—“ Non ”—“ Quare ? ”—“ Eo quod non sit Dei liber ”—“ Proh (exclamauit) Deum immortalem ! Videte,” inquit, ad frequentissimum, hominum prætereuntium, cœtum, “ uidete exlegem
- A zealot of the Qurān at the Khalbar and Monserrate 4 “ Negat Mahammedem, esse prophetam | et Alcoranum, esse librum Dei ” Quod contenta, uoce *atrociter ⁵ sæpe repetiuit * et dubium non est quin hominem lapidibus appetijissent et percussissent nisi inflammatum atque ignitum Regis furorem exhorruissent, in ipsorum cæde, si eum interficerent, bacchaturi Qua se cogitatione cæde coercuerunt ⁶

¹ 1st benignum comperturum, beneuolum, facilem ² 1st in eius fidem tradebat

³ 1st et qui se, nullis periculis subtrahat. ⁴ 1st umbrarum inundationes. ⁵ Later addition

⁶ 1st cum uero plebem, commoueri Sacerdos uideret, honeste se eius furori subtraxit.

3000 Beg-
gars at 'Alī
Masjid

F 88b 1
A prays at
the shrine

Khalbar=
Capissa, des-
troyed by
Cyrus?

White tent
and prayer
discarded

Recalcitrants
E. of the
4
Khalbar
punished

Bridging the
Indus before
Atak

Sept. 1581

All troops
cross
A 's 3 days'
march upon
Kashmir

Deterred by
his 8 months'
campaign
and other
difficulties

Porro, cum Rex, in Ahalidis templum uenit, quod in Caybaris fauce, ædificatum esse, supra commemorauimus, magnos pauperum, seu potius nebulonum greges, qui frequentissimi, castra sequebantur, ad tria fere milia, in eum locum conuenire, singulisque argentei nummi || stipem erogari imperauit ipse vero preces, more Agarenico, in eo loco fudit

Jam uero, ut diligentibus rerum antiquarum studiosis, aliquid impertiamur non dubijs coniecturis ducimur, ut existimemus Caybari, et Caybareno collibus, Capissam urbem, quam diruit Cyrus, et Capissenas, nomen reliquisse quod postea (ut fere fit) temporum diuturnitate, | rerumque uicissitudine, in eam appellationem deuenit, deflexa nonnihil, voce, et iteris immutatis, quam nostra memoria, tractus ille retinet Cum enim illhac transirem, mihi renuntiatum est, non procul a uia, ruinas uetustissimæ urbis, cuius nomen cum tectis exciderit, manere et post gentes, Indo proximas, hi primum montes occurrunt | quos Capissenæ, habuisse traduntur ¹

Plin lib 6
cap 23

Cæterum, cum Zelaldinus, intra aulæ septum, dum Chabulum peteret, candidum tabernaculum, in quo precaretur, figi imperaret, in reditu, se animaduertere, num poneretur, dissimulabat

Vbi uero, fauces Cáybaris, et* præruptas rupes ² excessit in campumque uenit, aliquot oppida, iuxta Coam, incendi præcepit quorum incolæ, cum Chabulum ascenderet,* commeatum petenti, cibaria dare recusarunt ac nec prece, nec pretio adduci, potuerunt ut uendendam annonam exponerent ³ Qui cum intellexerunt, regem redire, trans flumen, aufugerunt suarumque rerum conflagrationem, ex editiore, trans flumen, loco inermes, et miseri conspexerunt Qui ut fidem Mirsachimo, seruarent, Zelaldini || offensionem incurrerunt, ut merito poeta dicat

Hor lib 9
Epist ad
Lollium

“ *Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achini* ”

In ora Coæ, iuxta eum locum constitit, ubi, cum Indo commiscetur * dum ponte ligneo super nauiculis, e regione Nilabhi in angusta quadam fauce transitus Indi coniungitur Cum enim, mense Septembri, in ea regione, algere cælum incipiat

et Imai | nives, minime liquentur adeo annus decrescit, ut pontem pati, integrumque sustinere possit

Quo absoluto, cum exercitum, et præsidia, quæ in ora Coæ locarat, ut sorori receperat, traduxisset versus Casmiriam, castra* mouit, ⁴ triduoque iter, aduersus eam regionem fecit Nam erat illi in animo, eam præfecturam suo imperio adiungere, ut eius | Tyrannus, Ἀχαρίους criminis, pœnas daret qui cum singulare, ab eo, beneficium, non ita pridem, accepisset beneficij immemor, cum per fines, regni sui, Zelaldinus iter ageret nullam, grati animi, significationem, edidisset Debuisset enim, si non ipse, per suos saltem legatos, regem prætereuntem salutare missisque munusculis, et aliquo ciborum | commeatu, subsidium, et obsequium deferre Nam

a patruo pulsus, a Zelaldino, paulo antea, regno fuerat restitutus Verum suorum consilio reuocatus est qui in medium attulerunt, omnium copiarum defatigationem,

¹ This paragraph is bracketed in the MS

² 1st præcipitum

³ 1st annonam petenti, recusarunt, ac nec prece ut uendendam exponerent.

⁴ 1st pons ligneus nauiculis e regione Nilabhi in Indi angusta quadam fauce imponitur

⁵ 1st direxit

que octo mensium labore in Chabulica *profectione,¹ desudassent, a quâ, confecto bello cum victoria redirent quibus relaxationem aliquam, et ab armis otium dari, oportebat. Deinde elephantibus, impeditum esse iter, cum difficiliore essent, montium altitudines et ad superandum longe asperiores, quam fuerant Chabuli. Quam etiam magnam montium partem, pedibus esse obeundam, cum equi, uix possint desiliendo equite expediti, iter carpere. Præterea ingruere hyemem qua altissime nives,² saltum omnem occupant, ut qua uia sit insistendum omnino non imparet. quo plerique, in precipitem aliquem locum inciderent et laberentur. Quare iter in altitatem uersus flexit atque in aliud tempus, acceptæ, ut ipse iudicabat, in uia, laudatam, magis autem augendi imperij cupiditatis explendæ, opportunitatem rececit.

3 Ac ut Ruysium peruenit, Sacerdoti | renuntiavit Rodolfum Ceynandi ægro-
 Rehtat
 Rodolm III at
 Sirhind
 Was SL
 Rodolm III
 Apollin
 1 tisse. quæsiuitque quid illi nominis esset num alicuius ex Apostolis, quorum nomina,
 recenseri et quot essent explicari præcepit. Cui sacerdos ut fecit satis, adiecit
 quod Apostolus idem esset quod *issus*.³ Et Agarenos quidem, unum iactare aposto-
 lum Christianos duodecim commemorare qui cum | majores Mahammede, et
 potiores et doctiores fuerint Christum esse Dei filium, quod Mahammedes diffitetur,
 docuerunt. Cumque summis precibus, ab eo contenderet, ut conueniendi Rodolfi,
 sui facultatem faceret, ut ei morem gereret, qui id ut suam confessionem exciperet,
 1 postulat. de hoc Sacramento paucis disputatum est. Cumque Rex quid illud rei esset
 intellet. ut "Quibusnam uos peccatis imphari credendum est? qui amore Dei,
 hoc uita genus institutis? et pullas uestes induistis?" Pullus enim color
 institit extremaque calunitatis symbolum apud hanc gentem est. "Crediderim
 equidem. Sacerdos respondit. pauci et exigua esse Rodolfi peccata. Est enim
 2 moribus et uita integritate prestans. Verum statis quibusdam temporibus,
 acta uerba inimice cogitata, Christi, et Ecclesie mandato, Sacerdotibus aperire
 iubemur. Quare incredibili beneficio utrumque nostrum affeceris, si mihi facultatem,
 3 tunc ideundi concesseris. Nam magno præterea mutuo uidendi nos, desyderio
 tenemur." Tunc Rex quibusdam, qui audiebant dixit. "Videte, quanto se
 amore mutuo prosequuntur." Ac Neco Faridio dixit, ut ab eo quæreret, | quanta
 pecunia ad uie sumptus, et ad as alienum soluendum, opus esset si quod Rodolfus,
 4 eo morbo, in medicamentis contraxisset? Cui cum rem exposuisset ac Necus Faridius,
 ad regem retulisset duplo plus dari iussit, quam Sacerdos petijisset. Atque ab eo
 dimissus quatruiduo concitatis | equis, Sacerdos, ad socium suum Rodolfum, trans-
 misso Bydaspe, Sindabalo, atque Adri, qui ab Aquilone urbem alluit Lahurum
 uenit ac diuino consilio, Sacerdos e castris discessisse, iudicari poterat ut in grauis-
 simo morbo, subsidium a Rodolfo acciperet. Qui cum ad Regis pedes, ut discede-
 ret, accidisset ad quosdam primarios uiros, qui ad se, a Mirsachimo, ea die, trans-
 fugerant, et ad Sacerdotis aspectum, commoueri mirarique quisnam esset, uidebantur
 occurrit. *Rex ac propter Sacerdotis personam quam sustinebat is quem ex ultimis
 terris accersitum uenisse demirabantur dixit. "Hic a Francis, habetur sanctus"°

Ysto se haa
de escreuer

1 1st expeditione

2 1st Rex, ac dixit

3 Bracketed in the MS from Qui cum ad regis pedes (fol 90a 4)

F welcomed
Akbar at
Lahore

Lahurum ut Zelaldinus uenit ad castra Rodolfus occurrit, ut illi gratularetur quem ille lætissime et amantissime accepit. Et cum ei, prospera omnia, Rodolfus precatus esset consilium, sauin Rodolfo aperuit, esse ut ad Hispaniarum Regem, legatum, et in eius comitatu e Sacerdotibus alterum, mitteret. Et cum Rodolfus narrasset Mongolos in agrum Damanicum, excursionem fecisse se id ægerrime ferre, significauit.

Embassy to
Spain
Attack on
Damian

Lahore des-
cribed

At, ne Lahurum taciti prætereamus, amplitudine, et frequentia, negotiatorum, ex uniuersa prope Asia, et opum diuitiarumque abundantia, Lahurum, urbs est, nulli siue in Asia, siue in Europa, ciuitati secunda. Imo uero, his omnibus rebus plerisque præcellit. nam et omne mercium genus, in eam conuehitur, et nullum est artificium ad humanæ uitæ usum cuius in ea opifices, non reperiantur. Tanta est hominum celebritas, ut se mutuo, in uis impediunt. Solius arcis, quæ ex latere et cemento effecta est, ambitus tribus prope passuum millibus tenditur. Intra arcem, forum est uenale, quod ad arcendos, æstiuos calores, et hyemis pluuias, repellendas facto ex tabulis, fastigiato tecto utrinque munitur eo artificio, eaque rei utilitate, ut imitatione dignum uideatur. Quo in foro, cum aromata uæneant, mirum est, primo mane, quam suauem gratumque odorem, exhalent. Reliqua urbs, latissime protenditur. eius ædificia e lateribus sunt extructa. Indigenæ ut plurimum, sunt Brachmanæ opulenti, et omnis generis gentiles, Casmirini præterea, panifici, et focarij, et scrutorum propolæ, quod genus quæsturæ, proprium est eorum, quibus est a Judæis genus. Ager uero est, admodum fœcundus, et fertilis.

F 91a 1
Kashmiris-
Jews?

Mān Singh
defence of
Lahore
against M.
Hakim

Ad hanc usque urbem, Mirsachimus excurrit, et ad orientem solem ipsius, castra, iuxta hortos amplissimos, habuit. cum esset arcis præfectus, Mancinus Bagoandæ filius a quo Mirsachimus, arcem repetijt. Cui ille, "Ego fidem quam Zelaldino fratri tuo dedi qui mihi hanc arcem in tutelam tradidit, non fallam." Si uis fortis nam experiri oppugnato nam ego, ad resistendum præsto sum. Si tu copijs tujs fidis, ego meorum fortitudine fretus sum qui milles potius ocumbent, quam loco cedant. Nam si expugnes, et obtineas mihi mei capitis, nihil curæ est, tantum ut Zelaldino, meo imperatori, fidem præstem." At Mirsachimus, sperans amplissimam urbem in suam potestatem uenturam, ut hominum animos in beneuolentia contineret a turtis, et urbis, qua manibus caret, spoliatione, direptioneque abstinent. ac negotiatores omnes, atque ciues securos esse iussit dicebatque, cum arcis prætor, sibi tantum bellum esse. At obsidionem, aduentu retris, ut supra demonstrauimus, relinquere coactus est.

A bark at
Fatehpur
His mother
Pelai legs

A Lihuro Rex puicorum dierum itinere, copus fere omnibus, ad hyberna dimissis cum eo excreta, quem solet, in urbe regia, ad custodiam, et dignitatem remittere. Fatteppurum uenit, ubi a matre, summa cum lætitia, et publicis (ut fieri solet) ludorum spectaculis acceptus est.

F 91b 1

A 1 c
Gaul

Ceterum, recte est quod non huius imperatoris, prosperos successus, miretur, atque suspicet. Nam magnam memoriam, a Temuro Claudio, nullus ex eius atavis,

- 2 nec imperij magnitudine, nec uictoriarum multitudine, huic par, aut æqualis | fuit
Nam hæreditarium, Delin regnum, superato Beyramcano Persa, qui reluctabatur,
obtinet Cui Maluanam præfecturam primum, deinde Gedrosiam, tum Gangaridem,
et Gangeticum littus, intra extraque Vxentum montem, qui populi olim Coccanágæ,
Sábaræ, Gangáridæ, et Dryllophilittæ, inter Tindum amnem, et Gangem fluuium
- 3 medijs dicebantur nostra | ætate, alijs nominibus, ijsque barbaris efferuntur quibus
regnis, hoc bello Chabulum, eo confecto, nuper Casmiriam, ut inceptarat, adiunxit,
Kashmīr, Sīnd, the Jām subject-
ed The Dakhīn
coveted Dāūd Shāh,
Rānā Parlāb
Singh, Mey-
tar Singh
[Mattar Sen?]
killed Muzaffar
Khān defeat-
ed etc
*nuper Syndi & Jambī regna ¹ Nunc Decanico regno, Lusitanis finitimo, *et
toparchijs infra Gangaridem inhiat, ¹ et * illa ² lento quodam bello, debilitat Quibus
prælijs, Dauidem, Patanæorum regem peremit Ramapartaosinguem, cui duodecim
reguli parebant, * glande ex ignifera fistula confixum | peremit ³ Simili fere exitu,
Meytarsingues ab eo periit, cui etiam, aliquot Dynastæ suberant Mussapharcanum,
Gedrosiæ regem fudit Arachosiæ tyrannum, in fugam uertit, et regni partem occupauit
Mirsachimum fratrem, in montium rupes compulit Caspirinum principem obtinuit
At uero toparchas, ac dinastas cæteros, qui commemoratis regibus parebant, arcium-
que præfectos uel sustulit e medio, uel in deditionem accepit, ad quadraginta ||
- F 92a 1 quorum nomina barbara, et nimium dura, atque ijs, quæ paulo ante adduximus,
similia, consulto prætermitto Cuius potentiam, finitimi reguli, cum reformidarent, et
se posse resistere desperarent, sponte ei uectigales, et stipendiarij facti sunt Nec
mirum, cuiquam uideri debet, cum a Pseudostomo Gangis, ad Chabulum duodeuiginti
2 ferme *gradibus latitudo pateat, ⁴ et a littore Gedrosiæ, ad Vxenti | montis iuga,
quæ ad Gangem uergunt, ab oriente sole, *undeuiginti gradibus, ⁵ longitudo decurrat
si finibus Indi, et Gangis uix egressus, tot prouincias, atque conuentus, suo imperio
subdidit, urbesque * expugnauerit ⁶ Est enim India, omnium Asiæ prouinciarum,
maxima, longe, lateque amplissima, *cuius descriptionem sequenti libro, si Deus
dederit, explicabimus
- 3 Enimuero Fattepurī, | institutum Lahurī, de legatione, ad Philippum Hispaniarum
regem, sermonem repetijt, et cum Rodolfo egit ut is Sacerdos, qui cum eo, in castris
uersatus erat, cum suis legatis proficisceretur Duos enim designauit, alterum qui in
Hispaniam nauigaret, generis nobilitate illustrem alterum qui Goæ consisteret, eun-
dem qui sacerdotes, ex Goæ insula adduxerat urum quidem | probum, quantum
perfidus animus sinit, ex factione Xæorum utpote qui Persa esset
- Quæ factio, a Xa Ismaele, Persidis Rege, annis abhinc, fere octoginta, * ⁷ i e ,
circiter annum millesimum et quingentesimum a Christi natali orbisque saluari die, ⁷
noua superstitione, inducta est cuius homines Ahalidem, tanquam Dei uices geren-
tem, Vahallah inclamant, * id est diuinæ dominationis iurisque uicarium, uel Dei sanc-
tum ⁷ Ferunt enim, Gabrieli, Alcorani librum, ad Ahalidem afferenti (uideate anilem
fabulam) || Mahammedem occurrisse Quem cum Gabriel interrogasset, “Tunc
Ahalis es?” quæsiuit ipse “Quid uero boni, ad eum affers?” Conspicabatur
enim librum Cui angelus “Librum hunc, a Deo, ueracem, quo homines, corrigendi,

¹ Later addition² ist illud³ ist orbe plumbeo, ex tubo confect⁴ ist spatij latitudo pateat (quæ Geographi gradus dicunt)⁵ ist septem et triginta spatij⁶ ist debellauerit.⁷ Later addition.

ac dirigendi sunt Ipse enim est, Dei nuntius'' Tunc Mahammeddes, tam honori-
 2 ficæ prouinciæ, ac nominis cupidus, dixit "Ego sum" Cui cum Gabriel | credi-
 disset, librum tradidit ab homine, angelus delusus, scilicet Deus uero, ut stultis-
 sime, impijssimeque confingunt, quoniam Mahammeddes, uir bonus, et Propheta
 esset rei euentum sequutus, ei librum permisit, et ut esset nuntius comprobauit
 3 Quare, cum Dei sententia, potior Ahalis sit, quam Mahammeddes et a nuntij digni-
 tate, Mahammeddis fallacia, et | Gabriele (si Deo placet) simplici exciderit cum
 Shī'ah and
 Sunnī feuds melius sit, ut aiunt, mereri quam obtinere et ad eum nuntij nomen, deferre neque-
 ant *uices apud homines et numen Dei tenentis¹ dignitatem, referunt Quæ res,
 omnium bellorum, inter Persas et Turcas seminarium, et fomes est Hos cæteri Aga-
 4 reni, contumehoso nomine, | * Raffiginos,² hoc est, hæreticos, uocant qui profecto,
 Shī'ahs,
 Rāfizi or her-
 etics ad simulachrorum uenerationem, quodammodo redire iudicantur Nam Leonem, quasi
 Ahalidis signo, uenerationem tribuunt cuiusdam fabulæ, cui Gabrielem immiscent,
 'Alī's em-
 blem authoritate freti quæ incerto quidem authore, sic fertur Cum Mahammeddes, in
 cælum ascendisset, ei fremebundus leo occurrit Cuius aspectu territus, cum pedem
 referret ait ei Gabriel, "Ne reformides Anulum quem geris in digito, quo epistolas
 F 93a 1 obsignas,|| in ipsius os conijcto" Quod cum fecisset, abiit leo At, cum in terras
 descendisset Mahammeddes ei Ahalis gratulabundus occurrit, anulum eum gestans,
 quem ille in os eius, sub leonis effigie iniecerat Videte quæso, quibus nænijs, Aga-
 2 reni, fidem tribuant quos duces sequantur, quorum uestigijs insistant | quos pro-
 phetas, quos nuntios, quos rerum diuinarum interpretes iactent At illud execran-
 dum est, quod Gabrielem suarum nugarum, internuntium, impudenter, et impie, in
 hoc theatrum producant qui Gabriel, in primis cœli principibus, et Dei administris,
 a sacrorum librorum monumentis, et sanctorum patrum scriptis, ac a communi totius
 Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ, et omnium Christianorum consensu, adnumeratur At uero
 Persæ ad priscorum superstitionem redire eo iudicantur, quod prisci solem ab ipsis
 Mithram nominatum coluerunt Cuius simulachrum *rictu³ leonis capite tiaram gestan-
 [tis] qui prehensum cornibus [tau]rum teneret effingitur Sic enim poeta quidam
 cecinit

Adsis, o memor hospitij, Iunoniaque arua
 Dexter ames, seu te roseum Titana uocari
 Gentis Achæmenææ ritu, seu præstat Osirim
 Frugiferum, seu Persei sub rupibus antri
 Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram

Nostro hoc etiam tempore Persæ in uexillo candido leonem pictum magno rictu,
 et inuadenti ac frendenti similem gerunt, quod uexillum cum explicatur [Ahalim] in
 ea effigie magnis et inconditis clamoribus uahallah salutant et [i line near the margin
 cut through] Mithridatis nomen [some words missing?]⁴

¹ 1st uices Dei gerentis

² 1st Raffiginos (*) In the Index occurs the form "Rāffigi"

³ This seems the right reading, especially as we have below "leonem magno rictu" It is certainly not "uultu."

⁴ The whole of this paragraph is bracketed in the MS—"At uero Persæ (fol 93a 2) Mithridatis nomen" is a later addition

quas illi incolunt qui e uita honestissime et laudatissime acta exasseruntur Fuit illis quidem uita breuis, at cursus gloriæ sempiternus Præter sacrae huius cohortis signiferi nomen, reliquorum nomina assequi non potui¹ Eorum uero capita, Fattapurum ad regem sunt deportata, quod Sacerdotes, se ignorare simulabant Rex item non solum se scire dissimulauit, sed cum rei fama, adeo peruulgata esset, ut Suratensis arcis præfectus ipse, Sacerdotibus narraret nec amplius, rem ignorare, præ se ferre possent, | ab ijs interrogatus Rex, negauit se, occisorum capita uidisse accepisse tamen, atque id ægerrime tulisse, quod ad Damanum, et Suratem pugnatum esset Enimuero, ulterius deductum est, belli, negotium Nam coacto a Cutubdicano, * Barocij² subregulo, quindecim millium equitum exercitu, tum ex sui conuentus, stipendiarijs, tum Campaneriensis conuentus, quem Nourancanus, eius filius, qui tum | temporis, apud Regem erat, tuebatur, quibus etiam se, Suratensis præfecturæ copiae, adiunxerunt ipse in agrum Damanensem, animo arcem oppugnandi, uenit et ab eo agro, omnem regionem ad Agassain usque amnem, percurrit et vastauit miserosque agrorum colonos, et piscatores, reliquamque plebeculam, in scopulos adigit ad quos, cum non possent Mongoli, accedere tanquam ad | asylum miseri confugiebant verum æstu maris accedente, innumera mulierularum, et puerorum turba periijt Cuius sceleris poenas, haud multo post Cutubdicanus dedit, a Mussafaris, Gedrosiæ Regis, pulsus copijs uictus et summo cum dedecore, a quodam milite, in * gossipij³ officina, latitans deprehensus, et continuo necatus Mussafarus enim, ut F 94b 1 patrum || regnum, ui, multaque iniuria, a Zelaldino ereptum, reciperet, inopinantium Mongolorum præsidia adortus est At uero Martini Alfonsi Melij, qui Damanum tuebatur Fernandi Castrij Xeuli præfecti, Emanuelis Saldanhae Bassain præfecti, et Fernandi Mirandæ, qui regiam classem ducebat, fortitudine, atque consilio, et ueteranorum militum uirtute, Mongoli cum | damno abacti sunt Nam ubi auditum est, eos aduentare, auxilia, ex uicinis præsidijs, et præsidiorum quos commemorauimus præfecti Damanum confluerunt Cum uero Mongoli, * Danuhum, qui uicus nec magnum nec firmum Lusitanorum præsidium habebat,⁴ obsiderent uirtute Joannis Athaidij, * cuius erat uicus et præsidium,⁵ elephante, et aliquot militibus amissis, * eminus missilibus, telis et glandibus abacti⁶ aufugerunt

3 Quod, cum ad Sacerdotes perlatum fuisset, | et ipsi, animo offensi, Regi renuntiassent, huius belli, se non fuisse conscium, deierauit Aiebat enim, Cutubdicanum, et Xaebeanum, homines senes, ea authoritate, qua apud se ualere intelligebant, et senili quadam fiducia, multa adoriri, quæ tum ipse ignoraret, tum reprehendere non auderet quoniam in suam gratiam, et publicam utilitatem facta | uiderentur eo quod Christiani, Agarenorum hostes habeantur Quæ Regis responsio, ob id Sacerdotibus, quodammodo uerisimilis fiebat, quia duces illi, Regem ob inconstantiam oderant et quoniam ea sunt Mongoli sagacitate, * ut dum crudis et immaturis adhuc rebus sui consilij et uoluntatis explendæ occasionem et tempus expectant, nunquam suo officio desint⁷ donec res maturescant

Heads carried to Fatehpur
A simulates ignorance
Mirân Sultân [? Kalij Kh ?] tells the news

Qutbu d din of Broach, Naurang Kh of Champa-ner, Mirân Sultân of Surat against Damân

Qutbu-d-din killed (1583) by Muzaffar of Gujrat.

F 94b 1 Martin Alfonso de Mello, Fernão de Castro, Manoel de Saldanha,

Fernão de Miranda and João de Athaide repel the Moghuls

A conclusion
Qutbu-d din and Shihāb Kh desist

¹ Later addition

² Ist Barocij

³ Ist gossipis

⁴ Ist uicinium uel exiguum Lusitanorum præsidium est

⁵ Ist qui præsidio præerat.

⁶ Later addition

⁷ Ist ut nunquam suo officio desint dum occasionem et tempus expectant sui consilij et uoluntatis explendæ,

q am' uis are bu sunt et immatura donec maturescant

2 "extiterit, et in utraque lege fuerit uersatus" Deinde in priuato | colloquio ei dixit,
 League with Spain against the Turk
 Embassy to Rome
 Joy at R's staying on.
 se aduersus Turcarum Regem, foedus, cum Lusitaniæ Rege, uelle inire, pecuniaque regem iuuare, tum ad Summum Pontificem, salutandum, socium eius, si ipse maneret, mittere Præterea, se inuitum dare, ambobus facultatem abeundi, apertissime ostendebat Et cum tandem, unum e duobus, mansurum intellexit mirum in modum,

3 gauisus est | illisque ob eam rem, bene precatus, eorum laudes, in magno suorum cœtu prædicauit, ut eos, tam honorificæ prædicationis, puderet Atque Rodolfo, qui erat mansurus, dixit "Procul dubio, *hîc si manseris Deo fore gratius existimo, quam si me solum deserueris¹ Nam apud tuos, non desunt, qui *in tuum locum

4 "sufficiantur² At si hinc abieris, nemo | est, qui *pro te substituatur"³ Et in
 Respect for the Pope
 priuato quodam colloquio, cum de legationis argumento, inter tres tantum ageretur et Pontificiæ dignitatis, amplitudinem, ab ipsis didicisset rogareturque, quid suo nomine, Summo Pontifici significari uellet (non sine animi dolore commemoro, cum in *mentem⁴ uenit, Pontificiam dignitatem, quam Agareus Rex suspiciat, uel ea tantum

F 96b 1 caussa, quod Christi uicem gerere, ab externis hominibus, || audierit ab ijs contemni, et ludibrio haberi, qui se Christianos, sed iniuria, et nouos Evangelij restitutores iactant) dixit "Intellexisse me, dices, quam ampla, atque augusta Summi Ponti-
 "ficis Romani, esset dignitas, quippe qui *Christi loco in terris sit⁵ et audiuisse me,
 "reges omnes, ad eius pedes accidere denique te, a me mitti, ut eius pedes meo

2 "nomine | osculeris, quando ego præsens, osculari coram non possum et ut ab eo
 "impetres, ut ad me aliqua *perscribi imperet,⁶ quibus me Dei uiam doceat (opto
 "enim ueritatem cognoscere) et *modum quo regna, quæ mihi parent, in magno
 "timore administrem, qui a reuerentia aduersus Deum oriatur, ut post cœli atque ter-
 "rarum futuram deflagrationem quando grauissimum illud Dei iudicium subiero,
 "exigui meæ uitæ curriculi⁷ reddere rationem sciam" Quibus alia adiecit, quæ a

3 pijssimo quodam Christiano Rege, prodire uidebantur | Ad hæc se non esse Agare-
 A not a Moor, but a Talab-Khudā
 Seeks ad-vice from the Pope or the General S J
 num, professus est nec Mahammeddis symbolo, quicquam tribuere *prosequi autem eorum sectam qui tantummodo Deum unum sine compare, ut eius uerbis utar, inuocant et uestigijs odorantur, quæ est Sauphiorum schola⁸ ac nihili facere vxores, Talabkoda, i.e. Dei uestigior
 filios, diuitias, regna, præ ut, ueritatem discat Nec sibi fore quicquam impedimento, quominus legem acciperet, si aut a Summo Pontifice, aut a Præposito Societatis, aut

4 ab ipsis, aut denique | a quouis pauperculo *et humili homine,⁹ aliquid audiret, quod
 *in eius animum et cor¹⁰ penetraret Quod uero, ad filios attinebat se genus mater-
 num, a Cingiscano ducere, qui decem filios habuisse ferebatur, quorum nemini uim
 His sons, like Gengiz Khān's, to choose their own religion
 attulit, ut unam potius, quam aliam legem sequeretur ex quibus unus, fuisse Chris-
 tianus ferebatur Se similiter filijs integrum relinquere, ut quam malint legem *ac-
 cipiant¹¹

F 97a 1 Nec synceri eius animi, uulgare argumentum || putabant, quod se adeo diligeret,

1 ist plus hic pietati, quæ in Dei uoluntate facienda est, manendo seruiens quam si me solum deseras

2 ist tuas uices subeant

8 ist tibi succedat

4 ist memoriam

6 ist uicem Christi in terris habeat.

6 ist perscribat

7 ist rationem, qua regna, quæ mihi parent, cum Dei timore administrem, ut in extremo iudicij die

3 ist esse uero Dei inuocatorem et uestigiatorem

9 Later addition

10 ist in cor

11 ist amplectantur

- F 98a 1** Regem || Deiparæ Virgini Mariæ, addictum esse ut e *proceribus¹ quidam, qui neces- Abdul sa-
man mune-
ris huius no-
men est, i.e.,
rutorum ca-
sorum ser-
uus?
- The 'Abd-
ul-Sāmān
shows Bibi
Minim's
picture**
- 2 situdine cognationis, cum Rege coniunctus erat, Virginis effigiem pulcherrimam, quæ
3 apud regem erat, clam, a supellectilium custode petitam, illo inscio, in eo peristili-
trichinio, qui e regione regiæ cuiusdam mænianæ, in eodem atrio, in quo Rex consi-
dere, et se uidendum, alloquendumque, præbere solet elegantissimo, et | præstantis-
simo, aureorum stragulorum, et linteorum instructu atque ornatu, circumscriptam,
*circumuestitam ac circumseptam² collocarat utpote qui, id regi fore gratissimum,
intelligebat Nec eum fefellit opinio, nam eius uoluntatem collaudauit quod etiam,
Sacerdotes non mediocri lætitia affecit cum illius effigiem, *ab alienis a Christianæ
3 religionis institutis³ coli, et honore affici uiderent et quasi ueritate coactos, | non
denegare eius imagini cultum, quam laudant astra matutina, cuius pulchritudinem
Sol, et Luna mirantur cui impudenter conuittantur, quidam qui se Christum sequi,
et Euangelij ministros esse, uanissime jactant qui, uel ipsis Agarenis, sunt deteriores
- Long dis-
cussion**
- 4 Jamvero cum inter *mystagogos⁴ Regios, sermo incidisset, de Bethsabe, uxore
Vriæ accersiri Sacerdotes, rex iussit, ut ab eis rei | gestæ ueritatem, audiret quod
ansam disputationi dedit, quæ ad dimidiam usque noctem, producta est Cuius sum-
ma capita, tantum proponam Atque in primis Sacerdotes quæsierunt, quonam
pacto, eam sententiam Mahammeddis interpretarentur, qua secundo capite *Syn-
thematis,⁵ Albaccara, i.e., uacca, asserit unumquemque in sua lege saluum esse posse
cum multis alijs locis, damnet eos, qui Alcorano, et sibi non credunt quos sæpe in-
quos, atque infideles, et exleges nominat Qua quæstione percussus, cum imparatus
esset (nec enim adeo sunt religioni dediti, ut suarum superstitionum, librum uersent, ||
et addiscant) primum inficiati sunt, sic esse in Alcorano scriptum At, cum a Sacer-
dotibus, adducto libro, locus esset apertissime, omnibus commonstratus, uarie locum,
sed insulse, atque inepte, et præter rem, interpretari conati sunt Quidam eorum
dixit, se per duos annos, diligenter, et accurate eius sententiæ, sensum peruestigasse,
2 nec reperire potuisse Reliqui, Sacerdotum interpretationem, | sunt sequuti esse
scilicet, temere, et false dictum Quidam occurrit, intelligendum esse, si credant in
Prophetam, et unum Deum, sine particeps inlament Lailah ilallah non est Deus
præter Deum Cui Rodolfus, "Si id uerum est, non est opus, ut in Mahammeddis
"symbolo, dicatur Mahammed rassul allah hoc est Mahammeddes, Dei nuntius"
3 *Quod omnes non probarunt tantum, sed etiam laudarunt,⁶ | et in ijs præcipue, Rex
ipse, qui ægre, *ferebat,⁷ Mahammeddis nomen inlamarum quem ipse nulla sancti-
tatis laude ornatum, sed flagitiosissimum, et impijssimum hominem fuisse, nec ab re,
*opinabatur⁸ At ille hac consecraria conclusione percussus et ultra disputando
urgere uerecundans manus dedit At vero interpretatio qua hunc locum exposuit
inepta fuisse ostenditur Nam si quis repudiet legem cui parebat et effectus Mussele-
manus moriatur atque animo saluus et incolumis conseruetur (quod non damus) jam
non in ea lege quam perrupit seruatur sed in Mahammeddis lege quam accepit Secum
ergo Mahammedes pugnat cum asserit neminem qui legem suam non obseruauerit

¹ Ist magnatibus² Later addition³ Ist ab exsortibus Christianæ religionis⁴ Ist literatores⁵ Ist Alcorani⁶ Ist quod omnes probarunt, et laudarunt⁷ Ist fert⁸ Ist opinatur

posse animo incolumi conseruari et posse unamquamque legem eos qui eam diligenter obseruent et Musselemam non sint saluos præstare Quod si ita accepisset, ut iste interpretabatur, nullus post homines generatos æque atque ipse indoctus, rusticus, et agrestus fuisse reperiretur, qui legem homini qui illam neglexerit fore salutarem fuerit arbitratus Asserebat autem Mahammeddes posse unumquemque in sua lege saluum conseruari, tum quod fateretur legum libros Thorah Pentateucum, Zabur Psalmos, Ingil Euangelium, a Deo prodijisse, tum ne uoluntatem Judæorum et Christianorum a se penitus abahenaret Neminem uero saluum conseruatum iri qui in legem a se latam non iurasset, ideo scripsisse credendus est, ut a se homines inescatos et quasi pisces jam hamo captos, ne sese ex laqueis extricarent [1 or 2 lines cut off from the lower margin] ¹

Obiecerunt sacerdotes, quod e superiore ² argumentatione ³ efficiebatur, non obscuram esse, in Alcorano, locorum concursationem, et contentionem Quod cum

4 præterea ostenderetur, ex plerisque Alcorani locis, compulsi | sunt locos conciliare Qua in re, cum frustra laborarent, ait Rodolfus, “Quare in re manifesta, et in medio posita, et aperta discruciamini?” Et Rex, “Vera prædicat” Ipsi, rem interrogaturi a Mahammede, apud inferos, conticuerunt Addidit, locum illum, mendacium continere, eo quod ab orbe condito, una tantum fuerit lex, hominibus a Deo data, alio quidem, atque alio modo, ab ipso Deo explicata Ac in primis temporibus, Adamus, et Noes primi interpretes, posteris, eius pauca præcepta tradiderunt

Adam,
Noah, Moses,
Christ, the ex-
ponents of
Revelation

F 99a 1 Moyses in monte, cui Deus sub rubi flamma || apparuit, quam accepit explicationem legis, posteritati promulgauit At uero, Christus Dei Filius Patris Verbum, qui nos in libertatem undicauit ut audiuit a Patre, quem semper, absque principio, audit, nobis interpretatus est quæ interpretatio Euangelio, cui credimus continetur Ad quæ, ne uerbum quidem Cum a Sacerdotibus demonstrationem peterent, earum

“Faith its
own proof,
and a gift of
God”

2 rerum, quas doccbant num | quæ ad credendum proponebantur, demonstratione egerent, disputatum est atque effectum, fidem loco demonstrationis esse, earum rerum, quæ ad credendum, propositæ a Deo sunt stultumque ⁴ simul, ⁵ et impium esse, earum rerum demonstrationem quærere, quæ altiora sunt, quam ut eas, nos humi strati suspicere possimus Quod Regi, Abdulfasilio, et medicorum supremo,

3 cum esset persuasum | fidem donum esse Dei, Rex, et Abdulfasilius non admiserunt et fidem gratiamque, eandem esse uirtutem, instabant, atque urgebant At Sacer-

Faith and
grace con-
fused by A
and Abu-
Fazl

dotes, cum uerborum inopia, et accommodato interprete laborarent et quædam, ab illis, Arabice dicerentur, uerbi esse quæstionem suspicati, non admodum obsistendum existimarunt Erat enim aliquando futurum, ut occasionem, rei explicationem enar-

“Christ,
not the Son,
but the Spirit
& the Word,
of God”

4 randi | nanciscerentur Tandem cum durum esse dicerent, Deo filium tribuere et Christum Dei Filium esse dicere responderunt durius esse Christum *Rhohallah*, hoc est Dei halitum, uel spiritum nominare quam ⁶ *Ebenallah*, ⁷ hoc est Dei Filium faciliusque esse, posito aliquo fidei fundamento, hoc efficere cum esse *quelemetollah*, hoc est Dei uerbum, non Euangelium, solum sed ipsum etiam Alcoranum, capite quarto,

F 99b 1 Elnessa, affirmet quam Dei halitum || esse confirmare cum Deus, corpore careat,

Qorān Ch
IV Sūratu'n
Nisā

¹ Later addition from “At ille” (fol 98b 3) and cancelled

² Later addition

³ 1st iuxta

⁴ 1st Abenallah

quo halitum contineat, et pectore, pulmoneque quo retrahat, et exhalet et Alcoranum * quoad eam uocem, *calamctollah*¹ cum primis Euangelij uerbis consentire quæ sic habent “In principio erat uerbum” Quæ Persice Rodolfus explicauit et adiecit, Deum carere accidentibus, ut omnia quæ in Deo sunt, sint ipse Deus Ac cum, ad multam noctem disputatum | esset et omnia Rex probasset, ipse cubitum discessit qui initio huius disputationis in Sacerdotum aures insusurrauit “Istorum caussa, uos oro, ut nulli aculei, contumeliarum aduersus Mahammeddem, in hac disputatione insint” Quod illi, diligentissime obseruarunt

Ac cum Rex semper, in animo uersaret, in ea cogitatione defixus apud quam gentem, vera Dei religio permaneret rationem id exquirendi, non ineptam excogitauit

3 Et quadam nocte, duces omnes, | *tum Agarenorum, tum² gentilium mystagogos, nostros denique Sacerdotes, in interius atrium Regiæ, conuenire iussit cumque singulos duces, quasi per acies quasdam, ordine collocasset literarum peritos omnes, et sacrorum magistros, coram se stare imperauit et de uarijs rebus quæsiuit Nostri vero Sacerdotes hanc occasionem nacti (quod iam antea secum constituerant) *rem

A Congress
of Religions

4 quandam maxime dubitandam in contentione posuerunt³ “Cum (aiunt) | in * Syn-
“themate⁴ scriptum sit, ‘Si liber hic, ad montem mittatur, discissus mons dehiscet’
“quærimus duo Primum de quo libro, id intellexerit, num de illo, qui e cœlo dicitur
“delapsus, et a Gabriele Mahammeddi traditus? an de omnibus alijs, qui ex eo des-
“cripti feruntur? Nam si de his intelligeret quid erat cur, mons in quo eramus, non
“dehisceret, cum veracem prophetam esse oporteret? Plurimi enim libri, in eo monte

The Qurân
& the moun-
tain

F. 100a 1 “erant Quod si de libro, e cœlis allato intelligerent, || secundo quærebant ubinam is
“esset? Num montem aliquem discidisset?” Ingenue fassi sunt, non esse illa uerba,
de ijs libris, qui passim circumferuntur, intelligenda Cæterum, ubinam liber ille
esset, cum certi nihil auderent affirmare, subterfugere conati, uaria commenta fingeant

2 Quidam qui Sultanus Mekkæ, eo quod diu, illic fuisset, dicebatur a Rege | ipso inter-

Sultân
Khwājah Ab-
dul ‘Azim in
a fix

rogatus, num Mekkæ seruetur? se plane ignorare respondit Et ad Sacerdotes
“Videte, patres, ne existimetis, meos doctores, uobis ad unguem, uti est in Alcorano,
“responsuros Unus enim quisque, ex suo sensu respondet” Tum Sacerdotes

“Omnibus qui adsunt *potestatem optionemque facimus ut eligant utrum uelint,
“aut librum perquirant,⁵ inuentum adducant, in campum descendant nos in

3 “monte | relinquunt, ad montem librum mittant Si mons dehiscat, nos peri-
“culum subire parati sumus,* aut si non dehiscat, librum esse totum ex fraude
“et mendacio compositum, nec a Deo missum, fateantur, cum ostenti promisso,
“ac recepto quod continet, ut esse Dei liber comprobetur, non satisfaciat nec fidem
“sponsoris liberet” Occurrit quidam, *υπερβολικως*, esse dictum Cui illi, “Si verum

4 “diceret, ad *ιπερβολη*, esse illud etiam referendum, quod | Mahammeddis, dimidiatam
“lunam, hntæ interioris uestis, manica una, excepisset, altera, ut reliquæ parti iunge-
“retur, in cœlum emisisset quod Agarenî in præcipuis Mahammeddis miraculis, con-

The cleft-
ing of the
moon no hy-
perbole?

1 Inter additionem

1st et literatores, ac

1st dubium hoc proposuerunt

4 1st Alcorano

5 1st optionem damus, ut librum perquirant

6 1st celsior non dehiscat intelligant librum esse mendacem nec a Deo missum, cum ostenti promissis, qua continetur, ut se esse Dei librum probet fallax et mendax sit

- A's speech
 5 "numerant Quod si nulla subest," aiunt, "huic dicto ὑπερβολῇ nec illi ὑπερβολῇ¹ ad-
 "misceri dicendum est" Post hanc disputationem, breui oratione, omnes qui aderant,
 F 100b 1 Rex alloquutus est "Video," inquit, "uaria esse diuersarum uiarum, instituta, Gen-
 "tiles enim aliud, nos aliud, *Jazdini† aliud, Judæi item, et Christiani, diuersa || do-
 "cent Uniuscuiusque uero factionis homines, se optimis institutis, suæ religionis, alio-
 "rum religionum hominibus, præcellere opinantur, non tantum, uerum etiam, ad suam
 "credulitatem reliquos pertrahere, contendunt Quos, si non in eam transeant, non
 Other meet-
 ings to be
 held
 2 "solum contemnunt, sed etiam *ex eo sibi illos² hostes habent quod animo meo,
 "non tenuem scrupulum, et dubitationem iniecit Quare uellem, statis diebus, ut
 3 "libri omnium, legum | adducerentur, et magistri, ut eos audirem, conuenirent, atque
 "ut unusquisque obseruaret, quænam uerior, ac potior religio uideretur" Et ad
 Sacerdotes orationem conuertit, et interrogauit, quænam auspicata dies, ac bona, ut
 All days
 auspicious.
 ipse dicebat, futura uideretur³ Cui illi, inauspicatam, et malam diem nullam esse,
 etsi alias, aliis esse meliores contingeret, responderunt "Nam cum dies omnis, Dei
 3 "mandato elucesceret, qui malum non facit, | nulla dies mala, si ipsa consyderetur,
 "dici potest Quod enim in Euangelio scribitur (hoc enim nomine, Testamentum
 "Nouum, Agere, cum quibus agebatur appellant) 'Videte, fratres, quomodo Ephes 5 D.
 "caute ambuletis, non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes, redimentes tempus, quo-
 "nam dies mali sunt' eo dictum est, quod eius ætatis homines, mali essent uel
 "etiam, quod ea ætas, Antechristi aduentui proxima, calamitosa, et ijs qui Christo
 4 "crederent exitiosa esset Dicimus uero, lucem ei male | *cecidisse,⁴ qui se flagitijs
 "contaminat, suo, non diei, uitio Christus etiam, per σιλεκδοχημ dixit, 'Sufficit diei
 "malitia sua' Bonæ item dies, aut meliores, ab ijs, quæ nobis *in illis⁵ eueniunt,
 "eadem figura loquendi, *denominantur⁶ Ac cum res quæ ad laudem, et honorem
 "Dei, et animarum utilitatem conferunt, inchoandæ sunt, nihil opus est inuestigare,
 5 "auspicatane, | ac bona, dies sit an vero inauspicata et mala cum nec natura sua,
 "ut dictum est, nec ab affectis rebus, mala, et inauspicata || existat" Quæ quidem,
 F 101a 1 cum omnibus qui audiebant paradoxa uiderentur (existimant n esse dies aliquas,
 *fato quod euitari non possit,⁷ malas, et inauspicatas, quam ob caussam, sortibus, et
 auspicijs ac diuinationibus *summa eaque superstitiosa⁷ sollicitudine, prope incredibili,
 exquirunt num inceptari rem, hac, aut illa luce oporteat) obloqui tamen, nemo ausus
 est Et Rex dimisso concilio, discessit
 2 Die crastino iterum, | cæterarum sectarum, magistros aliquot, et Sacerdotes, ac-
 The next
 meeting
 ciri iussit Ad quem cum uenissent, ad nostros, ait, 'Vellem ut quod hesternæ nocte
 "proposui, facere inciperemus Oro uos, ut libenti animo faciatis, nam Deus Opti-
 "mus, Maximus mihi mentem iniecit ut illud ordiret quod uos exoptabatis, et sæpe-
 "numero flagitastis Nouit autem Deus, *bonam mihi in proposito susceptoque
 3 "consilio mentem uoluntatemque | esse"⁸ Assidebant autem, duo filij, maiores
 natu, et circumstabant Regem, tyranni, et reguli nonnulli Ad quem Sacerdotes
 " *Nos moram et impedimentum tibi non inferemus,⁹ quominus tuis hisce studijs fiat

¹ The Greek words should be ὑπερβολικῶς ὑπερβολῇ, and infra σιλεκδοχῇ

² Later note.

³ Later addition

⁴ Ist cecidisse

⁵ Ist dicuntur

⁶ Ist inuitabili fato

⁷ Later addition

⁸ Ist rectam mihi in hoc opere mentem atque consilium esse.

⁹ Ist Per nos non stabit

- The Gospel explained
Badly attended meetings
Persian writings
The meetings given up
A's leanings to Hinduism
- satis'' Ac statim, interpretandi initium ab Euangelio fecerunt At uero reliqui, paulatim, in assignatum locum uenire, destiterunt et soli nostri, Regi libentissime sunt obsequuti Cui quæ describebantur, cum statutis | diebus afferrent, aliqua interrogabat, eo magis instituto, ne inconstantiae insimularetur, quam ut, in sententia, persisteret et cum nouum aliquid moliri, et ex institutis omnium, nouam sectam conflare illi esse in animo suspicarentur paulatim se etiam Sacerdotes de opere subdlexerunt Nam cum in dies magis ac magis, gentilibus faueret, et eorum postulatione
- F 101b 1 quod ligneum tectum, affabre construi iusserat || idque in eminentissimum, aulae locum, *ferri,² et in eo collocari ex quo, solem, cum primum oriretur, aspiceret, ac ueneraretur Nihilo secius, meliora precati, a legatione obeunda, non esse desistendum, existimarunt
- The embassy starts
- Quapropter, post diuturnas moras, cum legatis, alter sacerdos, Ágara Góam uersus, iter *longum ingressus est,³ quod, cum non obscuris periculis confecit Quæ
- 2 Dei beneficio, cuius | caussa *illud inierat,⁴ incolumis euasit Nam cum Sáydus Musaphárus, inuitus, ad eam peregrinationem, esset a Rege coactus, quam ipse longinquam, et prope perpetuam, et alterum quasi exilium esse, sibi persuaserat et intellexisset, Sacerdoti datum esse mandatum *obsignatum,⁵ quod Surate *resignaret⁶ ac sibi ab eo mandato timeret (erat enim, non ita pridem eius nomen ad
- 3 Regem delatum, | quod Xamansuri conspiracy, sequutus esset) cum eo sæpe egerat, ut *illud aperiret⁷ Quod cum Sacerdos, ut Rodolfi præcepto, obsequeretur, facere renuisset, non semel, aut iterum, cum collega egit, ut Sacerdotem clam (quod erat facile) interficerent cuius nece, legatione, quam eius, et socij opera, institutam,
- 4 imprudenter satis, ac falso prorsus, Rex ipsi significauerat, | impedita, ipsi suos lares repeterent Sed factum, Dei beneficio, est, ut cum legatus alter, Sacerdoti amicus esset, nec grauius ferret, legatione apud Indiæ, pro rege,* Præsidentem⁸ fungi, *ut⁹ eum, ab hoc facinore, deterreret Indignum quippe esse, Agarenica fide, dicebat, insontem hominem, et bene moratum, qui eorum amicitiae plurimum confideret, non alia caussa, interficere, quam quod, Regis mandato obediret quem scirent, nihil moliri aduersus
- 'Abdullah friendly
- F 102a 1 eos mali Et cum regiæ litteræ, quibus mandatum || inerat, Suratæ essent reserandæ, posset, quod mallet eligere, si quid formidandum afferrent, consistere, sin minus, progredi Quibus mitigatus, et a sententia deiectus, consilium inijt, Cutubdicanum, *Barocci¹⁰ præfectum adire, cui *propinquus et¹¹ necessarius erat, et cum eo consilium capere, quid opus esset facto Et cum magnis itineribus, Sacerdoti properandum
- Salyid Muzaffar fears for his life and plots
M's death
M to go to Damān
- 2 esset, ut | Damani, nauigium legatis, ad transmittendum, præsto esse curaret, octo, ex suis familiaribus, qui Mandhoum tantum, eum deducerent, in comitatu dedit Vnde cum proficisceretur, ab eis destitutus, præter opinionem, in maximum discrimen deuenit Nam latrunculi, passim uias obsident, Agarenis, uel ipsum Christiani, et
- Robbers
- 3 Franci nomen, graue est, et odiosum | faciliq[ue] negotio, ut Christianos, e medio

1 Later addition

5 Later addition

9 Redundant.

2 1st subuehi

6 1st aperiret

10 1st Barocchij

3 1st instituit

7 1st id recluderet

11 Later addition.

4 1st id suscepit

8 1st præfectum

1 slo sr
dcyva pers
outro lu, ar
omde mlkor
couberate est
sinal †

- Māndu** tollant adducuntur Præterea, ex Regis præscripto, Præfectus Mandhoi, militi cui-
The Nar- dam, genere Mongolo, ut Sacerdotem, Angertum usque, deduceret, imperavit Cui
badā quattuor adhibuit comites, qui ad Naruadæ ripam, tantum irent, eumque trans *Hic est Nar-*
Nearly mur- amnem duci, curarent *Vbi amnem transmisit,¹ existimauit Mongolus, necandi *tiadus*⁶
dered 4 illum, | et si quid pecuniarum haberet, abripiendi tempus, se nactum esse si Sacer-
 dotem, quantum posset, a uia abduceret Finit itaque, in quibusdam pagis, sibi esse
 negotia Sacerdotemque eo pertrahere conabatur Cui nec opinanti, cœlesti quodam
 mentis instinctu, animo insedit, ut non sineret se, longe a suorum sodalītio, et a
 iuuenis cuiusdam Christiani, abduci Quo factum est, ut non ausus fuerit Mongolus,
 F 102b 1 nec *latrones in insidijs,² certis locis, eius hortatu *locati,³ illum || et eius exiguum
 Angerte (?) manum, adoriri et Angertum Dei auxilio se protegente, incolumis peruenit vbi,
 Fort and the son of the ab adoptiuo, Mandhoi præfecti filio, tanta est humanitate acceptus, ut nihil amplius,
 Prefect of desyderari posset Quo cum peruenisset, aperte, ab eo Christiano iuvene, qui se coar-
 Māndu guit quod solus cum Mongolo, longiuscule abduci, se passus esset intellexit Mongo-
 2 lum pridie in diuersorio, | cum accepisset, a quibusdam, Sacerdotem Christianum esse,
 et a rege euocatum, ut ab eo Christianam religionem, edisceret dixisse non solum
 eum, sed ipsum etiam regem, si daretur occasio, necaturum In Auazī saltu, *tur-
 Avas Mts Robbers mam⁴ prædonum, *collecta⁵ suorum manu, euasit Edixit enim, ut simul, et quasi
 again manibus connexis, incederent Quod cum animaduertissent prædones, qui post syluas,
 3 et dumeta | latentes, *conscripti tamen pone arbusta et uirgulta quæ uiam interclude-
 bant,⁷ eius uestigijs, moliebantur insidias eum sequi destiterunt
 Portuguese fleet off Ad fines Surates tandem, cum eo tempore peruenisset, quo classis Lusitana, murijs
 Surat lacescita, Taphtij amnis *ostia⁷ obsidebat, ut eas naues interciperet, quæ Mekkam,
 M seized by the Captain of Beara (?) sine facultate, nauigassent, *is euentus⁶ non parum illi negotij exhibuit Nam a
 4 Bearaeno prætore captus, et tribus militibus traditus, Suratem | deductus est ubi
 ædibus quibusdam, *muro fortissimo septis,⁵ adhibitis custodibus, et janitore, illatus,
 honorifica custodia, potius, quam amico hospitio, acceptus est illique, ab urbis
 In prison at Gubernatore, obiectum est quod Suratem uenire refugisset Cuius rei, cum caussam
 Surat accepisset non nihil conquiescere uisus est, et iterum obiecit, "Nullum ostendis
 "Regis diploma, uel mandatum, quo explorete comperiamus, vera esse quæ narras" ||
 F 103a 1 "En," inquit, "tibi diplomatis exemplar, et collegarum meorum testimonium In
 Showing Akbar's seal "his uero alijs mandatis, sigillum Regis agnosce, en tibi, libere trado, tecum *fer,"
 "diligenter inspicere, me ueracem reperiēs" -- "At," inquit, "huc uenire recusabas"
 Tum ille, "Veni tandem" At, "Optatus uenisti," et abiit At præfectus urbis
 2 cibaria, beneuolentiæ significandæ, aut potius, simulandæ, | caussa large satis, ac
 liberaliter misit Verum diuino motu, factum fuisse uidetur, ut iuuenis ille, cuius
 Help from Daytan (?) ante memini, Christianus Daytano, post triduum, quam Sacerdos detinebatur,
 ueniret (ea in urbe, quæ reguli cuiusdam est, ut quo uehebatur, equo mederetur, con-
 stiterat) a quo, et eius famulis, cum comperisset præfectus, et prætor, cæterique sena-
 3 tores, | quæ Sacerdos diceret, uera esse eum amplissimo honore a se ornatum, soluere

1 1st Transmisso itaque amne

5 1st conserta.

8 1st murorum fortitudine firmis

2 1st insidiæ.

6 Later addition.

9 1st deuehe.

3 1st locatæ

7 "hostia" in MS

4 1st manum

- Believed at last. decreuerunt quo tum eius animum, si offensus, dissimulatis uinculis esset, demulcerent, ne rem Regi, cui sciebant illum esse charissimum, perscriberet tum etiam, ut eam caussam, si expostularet, afferrent ob id, domi ut se contineret, præcepisse
- 4 quoad tempus suppeteret, maiores | homini honores *tribuendi,¹ qui ab eius conspectu ueniret Nam antea, non semel *concilium,² de eo necando *conuocatum³ est Quod fortasse fecissent, nisi Græcus Turca (*Rumem⁴ dicunt) obstitisset qui dixit, honorem potius esse habendum, homini peregrino, qui a Regis conspectu, ueniret quam pœnam, insonti, ea sola caussa, quod Christianus esset, etiamsi Lusitani amnis faucibus imminerent, statuendam Illum itaque ad conuiuium, statuta
- F 103b 1 die, || uocat præfectus, qua vexillis, arce ornata, ordinibusque peditum, per murum dispositis equitatu omni, in aciem producto collocatisque Elephantum *cuneis⁵ ipse
Honoured by Mirân Sultân, the Prefect of Surat. in campum, qui pro foribus arcis est, cum magno comitatu prodijt et in tabernaculo resedit, unde suæ rei familiaris, procuratorem, cum aliquot equitibus, ad euocandum,
- 2 et adducendum Sacerdotem, misit | Eos ille sequutus, posteaquam ex equo, præfecto procul conspecto, desiluit eumque, et assidentes salutauit, et resedit arcis tormenta maxima, primum disploduntur, deinde minora tertio *ferreæ fistulæ, quæ⁶ in humero gestantur ultimo loco a tota acie, ter Allah *i e, Deus,⁷ conclamatum est præfectoque surgenti, ille assurrexit consensusque equis, in eius domum
- Banquet. 3 itum est ubi lautissimo conuiuio, | est acceptus Omnis hæc officij, et hospitalitatis significatio, inscio sacerdoti, et nec opinanti, ac mœsto potius, impensa est Nam postridie quam Suratem uenit audiuit, pridie eius diei, duos iuuenes necatos esse,
- 2 Christians killed at Surat on Aug 4, 1582. qui ab alijs duobus perfugis, et fidei desertoribus, proditi et interrogati, num essent *speculatores,⁸ ingenue confessi sunt Quibus cum optio esset data, ut nisi necari |
- 4 mallent, fidem Christianam abnegarent, et ad Agarenos transirent, forti animo responderunt, se malle milles necari, quam Dei religionem, et Christianam fidem deserere Ac etiamsi, a Vanianibus, redimerentur mille aureis, quos e uestigio numerarunt præfecti iussu, continuo necati sunt Ac Vanianes gentiles sunt Pythagoræi, qui uiuentibus abstinent, et pulices, *cimices,⁹ pediculos, uermiculos, et auiculas, omne denique quod spirat, si || possunt, *redimunt¹⁰ ne conficiatur, et enecetur Hos Germanes olim dictos esse, crediderim eo quod, cum *Brachmanis,¹¹ de suis institutis
- F 104 a 1 certent Ipsi se Vaniaa nominant, Brachmanæ vero *seipsos¹² Bamen Enimvero sublati mensis, Sacerdoti facultas facta est, classem adeundi in qua, ut Agarenis significaretur, quanti fierent, a Lusitanis, Sacerdotes magni etiam |
- 2 honores, illi inuito, et reluctanti, habiti sunt Est enim a Fernando Mirandensi, classis *præfecto,¹³ cum quo Sacerdoti, antiqua iam inde a Lusitania, et magna familiaritas intercesserat, ornatissima, uexillis positis, classe, et tormentis displosis, exceptus, cum quo de multis rebus, integram fere noctem colloquutus, ubi primum diluxit
- M on board João de Miranda's fleet. 3 Suratem, non sine popularium, magno stupore, | redijt Dicebant enim "Vir iste He keeps his word " nihil fictum, *et adumbratum,¹⁴ gerit, qui huc redit, cum impune potuisset, cum

¹ 1st habendi

- 1st consilium.

² 1st coactum.⁴ 1st Rume(?)⁵ 1st phalangibus⁶ 1st ferrei tubi, qui⁷ Later addition.⁸ 1st exploratores⁹ "simices" in MS¹⁰ The paper is injured at this place only not "remouent" or "dimouent."

munt' is left of the word. I propose 'redimunt.' It is certainly

¹¹ 1st Bragmanis¹² Later addition.¹³ 1st duce¹⁴ 1st aut fallax.

“ suis permanere ” Quo factum est, ut dum profectionem Damanum parat, certatim a praefecto, et praetore inuitaretur a quibus, cum beneuolentiae significatione dimissus, Damanum venit

Ubi, dum aduentum collegarum praestolatur, classis praefectus, nauem, quae
4 Mekka | Suratem petebat, in deditonem accepit, ea conditione, ut praeter Turcas, et

Ship from
Mecca seized
Turks and
renegades pri-
soners
Moghuls free

transfugas, desertoresque Christianos, reliquos dimitteret, in qua re, cum a praefecto cessaretur, et media multi, squalore, situ, sitique conficerentur, nonnulli in seruitutem, iniuria, a malis quibusdam Christianis, abriperentur diligentia eius factum est, ut data fides praestaretur Nam cum libenter praefectus, ipsius monitis | pareret, eidem

5 eam prouinciam dedit, ut quoniam Turcae, quoniam essent Christiani, disquireret qua diligentissime uno, et altero die, retentis Turcis aliquot, et Christianis, caeteris uero

F 104b

S Muzaffar
absconds in
the Dakhin
'Abdullah at
Daman

1 (qui Mongoli erant) dimissis, perfunctus est At uero Muzapharus, quem inuitum

uenire diximus cum Cutubdicanus, quem consilij capiendi causa conuenerat, * nisi Regis iussa faceret, illum attendere nolisset (abnuuit, enim senex, et sapiens, eius

* perduellionis periculum praestare) clam relictis rebus omnibus, ad Sedanorum regem

2 (qui Decanij nunc dicuntur) transfugit At uero Ebadullas, | alter legatus, Damanum uenit unde cum Sacerdote Goam nauigauit

Reception
at Goa

Jam uero Indiae praeses, Sacerdotem, deinde legatum * perofficiose et peramanter⁵ accepit et cum caussam aduentus, legationisque pondus, et momentum cognouisset et consilium cum proceribus cepisset omnes sumptus, ad nauigationem necessarios,

Franciscus
Mascaren-
us, Villa
Oriensis dyn
asta⁴

3 liberaliter * pollicitus est et⁴ detulit Praepositus item Societatis, eius prouinciae, | rem cum patribus, ex more, et instituto Societatis, communicat et Sacerdoti, proficiscendi, cum legato, potestatem facit At uero, cum eo anno, una tantum nauis, ex

The embassy
is postponed

Lusitania, in Indiam appulisset, omnium sententia fuit, dignitati tantorum regum, non esse consentaneum, ut legatus, ea nauis, in Lusitaniam deportaretur, quae esset

4 angusta, et multis uectoribus impedita | annumque alium, esse expectandum Ad quem, cum profectio esset dilata, Sacerdos, ad ministerij sui munera obeunda, suas

and col-
lapses

curas cogitationesque transtulit ac, cum posterus annus, alia consilia, cogitationesque attulisset legationis negotium, omnino praetermissum, et aeternae obliuioni tradi-

Rudolf's
return and
martyrdom

tum est

At uero Rodolfus, tum Regis inconstantiae pertaesus, qui se, in plures figuras, quam | * Proteus⁶ uertebat, tum etiam, quod a Praeposito, crebris litteris euocaretur, ueniendi facultatem, difficili admodum negotio, et facta redeundi sponsione, si esset

F 105a

1 in se situm, obtinuit Et || anno insequenti (is fuit octuagesimus tertius, ad sesquimillesimum) Goam uenit atque insequenti Julio mense, in Salsetano conuentu, Conculini, a simulachrorum cultoribus, interemptus est Cuius caedem, cum Zelal-

A.'s grief

2 “ Heu me, pater, opportune tibi dicebam, ne abires at tu me audire | noluisti ”

* Qua profecto, Mongolana prima legatio, de qua sermo habetur et in Lusitaniam pro-

¹ 1st minus intendisset nisi Regis iussa faceret, noluit

² 1st inobedientiae

³ Cancelled in MS from Nam cum Saydius (fol 101 b 2) In the margin at fol 101 b 2, opposite the words “Nam cum Saydius,” is found a note in Portuguese “Ysto se deixa, pera outro lugar omde melhor couber ate est [e] signal†” The † occurs after our note 4 (fol 104b 2) Why there, is not clear

⁴ Later addition.

⁵ 1st peramanter, et honorifice

⁶ 1st Proteus

⁵ ^{Abu-l-Fazl seeks his opinion} ^{F 1061} ^{Zeal for A's conversion} ^{A's love for him} ^{R's narrow escapes from death} ^{Longing for martyrdom} ⁵
 * prestantis ingenij, atque eruditionis perfectæ,¹ opinionem, ac nomen apud Regem,
 et eruditos assequutus erat ut quod ipse assereret, etiam de sua | ipsorum lege, et
 libro, nemo temere auderet refellere. Quin potius plerique, et in his Abdulfasilus,
 qui acumine ingenij facile | omnes superabat eius sententiam, consulto expectabant,
 ne postea adducto libro, cogerentur palmodiam canere, uel oppositis ab ipso argu-
 mentationibus cum dedecore manus dare. * In Philosophiæ, et Theologiæ scientijs,
 multum studij posuerat et in ijs erat cum laude uersatus. Mirum est sane quanto
 animi ardore humus Regis, *de quo hactenus loquuti sumus,² *ad Dei cultum a vitæ
 2 prauitate, conversionem optauerit ut, | nullum non lapidem mouerit quo eum,
 ad fidem pertraheret. Quod cum Rex intellexeret, eum * ex animo³ amabat non
 quod, in animo haberet, Christianus fieri, aut nostram religionem, magno æstimaret
 sed quod,* (ut ipse dicebat) cum intellexeret, Rodolfum, fidem, et religionem quam
 3 colebat, optimam existimare. *uidebat⁴ sui adeo amantem esse, ut ad id | quod ipse,
 ad animæ salutem optimum iudicabat, quodque propterea sequebatur se pellicere
 conaretur. Qui optimi Sacerdotis, consilia, quos conatus, *Deus optimus max e
 summi cæli sede perspicuus amplissimum illi præmium dedit, amplissimis eum
 1 *honoribus, decorauit. Nam, e media, ¹ Agarenorum barbarie, et immani feritate,
 in qua omni mortem exitumque minantur, *et a periculis uitæ in quæ casu, ut fere
 fit ac fortuito[sic]uenit incolumis, a Deo ereptus in ipsa prope patria, a uectigalibus,
 et subditis hominibus interceptus est. *Nam Surate semel, et Fatepuri iterum, rheda
 qui concitato cursu uehebatur, uelocitate ducta, prolapsa, confracta et comminuta,
 raptus primum ibi fuit quin dilanaretur, aut certe ita terræ impingeretur ut animam
 efflueret. Illisus et agere se erexit et domum prope exanimatus et decolor redijt.
 Bis etiam in periculum uenit ne ab elephantibus opprimeretur nam Regis imperio in
 circum descendebat, ubi Rex erat, et efferati elephantes concursu per uim decertabant.
 Est autem elephantis a natura insitum ut in certamine eorum ferocitas ita efferuescat
 ut, conspectis alijs, qui ad pugnam in campum descenderunt, quamuis unco a
 moderatore insidente coarceantur, in homines cæco impetu incurrant, uel cum uicti
 fugiunt in conspectum quemque hominem irruant, arreptum conficiant. Semel
 fugiens elephantem, pallium, quod pedibus trepidanti inuolutum fugam retardabat,
 medium disceidit. Iterum, nisi a socio fuisset reuocatus non dubium est quin
 ab elephante fuisset necatus nam ad locum quendam tanquam ad perfugium propera-
 bat, [cum bellua?] hominem si non corripuit, at proboscide uerberauit. Nam ad
 commune omnium discrimen qui in circo sunt [1 or 2 lines missing]⁵ Ardebat
 quidem, martyrij magno desiderio. Nam sæpe repetebat. "Num his martyres efficie-
 mur?" Cui cum alter sacerdos, responderet, "Nimium a Rege diligimur, nemo enim,
 5 nos audebit attingere," frontem, | quodam intimo mœrore percussus, contrahebat.
 At Deus, oculo suo iudicio, cum expectaret ille martyrium, optanti subtraxit, nec

¹ 1st. litteraturæ, atque eruditionis² Bracketed³ Later addition⁴ 1st. impensissime⁵ 1st. eius studium, et animum amplectebatur, quem uidebat⁶ 1st. Deus optimus max cui omne cor patet, et omnis uoluntas loquitur, et quem, nullum latet secretum, e summa⁷ 1st. honoribus ijsque extraordinarijs decorauit⁸ Later addition from Nam Surate (fol 106a 4) One or two lines were cut off from the margin below, when the MS was bound

- F 106b 1 opinanti suppeditaunt quamuis, non audeam dicere, inopinantem Rodolfum, a barbaris esse oppressum¹ cui è uestigio collum extendere, et iugulum præbere, succurrerit. Ex quo potius coniecturam facio, assidue secum solitum esse, de martyrio meditari, martyrium a Deo precibus postulare, et cum, ab exlegibus, et perfidis, telis, et gladijs peteretur dixisse “Ecce quod concupiui iam uideo, quod speraui² iam teneo, ipsi iungar in | coelis, quem in terris positus, tota deuotione dilexi”³ Sunt autem, quinque maxima vulnera, optimo adulescenti imposita in genuum flexu duo, in iugulo vnum, quartum in uertice, in medio pectore quintum ex quo, quarto post necem die, incorruptus cruor effluebat Annos natus, duos, et triginta, cum in
- 3 Societate Jesu, pubertatis annos exegisset, Idibus Julij, anni | millesimi, quingentesimi, octuagesimi tertij Conculini interemptus est, cuius sodales fuerunt, Alphonsus, Antonius, et Petrus, sacerdotes, et Franciscus, eiusdem Societatis, quidem religiosus, non tamen ad sacrorum munerum functionem initiatus, et paria fere uulnera acceperunt Peremptus uero est, eodem die, quo a Jacobo Soria, Ignatius Azeuedius, anno
- 4 septuagesimo, et | socij, quadraginta nouem, ad Insulam Palmæ, necati sunt hoc est post annos tredecim Erat uero Rodolfus, Ducis Atriæ, ex uxore coniuge, filius Patris Claudij Aquauuiæ, totius Societatis Præpositi, ex fratre nepos⁴
- Jam uero, ad Zelaldinum, a quo, cædis Rodolphi, narratio nos parumper abduxit, Liber[2],⁵
- 5 redeamus⁶ | *Erat⁷ Zelaldinus facie, et statura, ad regiam dignitatem apposita, ut facile Regem, vel ipso primo intuitu, quiuis agnosceret, latis humeris, incuruis
- Hisphysique cruribus, et leuiter inflexis, et ad equitandum accommodatis, colore candido, modico
- F 107a 1 nigrore, suffuso, obstipo capite, et in dexterum* humerum⁸ inflexo, fronte lata, et aperta, micantibus oculis, et qui quasi mare, cum a sole collucet uibrare uideantur deductis in longum, palpebris, ut sunt Sauromatum, Smarum, et Niphonum, et omnium fere Asianorum, quorum regiones, ad arctos uergunt tenui supercilio, naso⁹
- 2 mediocri, et demisso, ex quo tamen, os medium, eminet | patentibus, quasi succenseat, naribus in quarum sinistra, uerrucam, superiori labio coniunctam, habet Barbam abradit excepto superiore labro, ut Turcæ,¹⁰ anteaquam ex ephelis excedant et togam prætextam deponant, quam ubi deponunt et puram virilemque sumunt, barbam nutriunt et componunt Comam non tondet, præter morem maiorum suorum, nec pileo utitur, sed uelo redimitus, capillos inuoluit quod factitauerunt, ut sese, ad Indorum morem, usumque transferat et sibi eorum animos, conc
- 3 liet | Crus sinistrum, quasi claudus trahit, cum tamen, pede læsus non sit Corpor¹¹ uero, optime constituto, nec exili, et macro, nec pingui, et concreto, multum anir¹² habet, atque roboris Dum ridet, deformior fit, ac tranquilla, et serena fronte liberali¹³ præ se fert speciem, et magnam dignitatem, in stomacho autem, magn¹⁴
- Appearance.

¹ Here Monserrate inserted later, and subsequently canceled the following post ipsius reditum in Indiam 1700
 in sa Pro ncia Præpositi reingrauit Nam cum Pegs s ad a perspexisset nec aliud Regem laborare intelligeret,
 nisi ut tanquam Deus aut na es magnus habere ur, ea de re Præpositum et socium, qui cum regis legatus Goam ante
 superiore profectus erat, per litteras adinuauit, ad quem Præpositus respondit.

Bracketed from text cum ab exlegibus (fol. 106b *)

² Lat. add. on erased.

³ Lat. cancelled addit. = agnus ca de terrar d i po, a tramar ate o sato o q comela ar folias sig e dequi
 on inuad a estar m singi p as 100

⁴ Lat. add. on erased. ⁵ Later addition.

His age in 1583	4	magestatem	Ac quo tempore ad eum Sacerdotes uenerunt, annos erat natus, octo, et triginta
Affability		Disque præbeat	Singulis enim, prope diebus, omnibus, tum popularibus, tum proceribus, colloquij sui, copiam facit et in omni sermone, affabilem se esse mauult,
	5	quam difficilem	Quæ comitas, affabilitasque sermonis, mirum est, quantopere suorum illi animos conciliet
F 107b	1	iure optimo nutare	quod Agareni iniquissime ferre solent a nemine est interemptus
Mental qualities		Vir est ingenio peracutus, et prudens, et tum, ad pericula prospicienda, tum etiam, ad captandam, rei bene gerendæ, occasionem, sagax	Quæ quidem cum animi, tum corporis ornamenta, quod fidei *nitore ¹ careant, plurimum sui splendoris, et pulchritudinis deperdunt
	2	Ad ferarum quidem uenationem, ualde proclius, non perinde *alittuum aucupio, ² delectatur	Et quod, melancholicus sit, uarijs se, simul ludis oblectat, atque id palam, ut eadem opera, optimatibus, et populo det spectaculum
Hunting Hawking Moroseness Amusements		Ludi uero quibus, se, et spectatores oblectat, hi sunt	Pilæ, malleique ludus, ad equum, pugnae
	3	Elephantum, Bubalorum, et Damarum, et Gallinaceorum gallorum conflictus deinde luctæ pugilum, *ludi ³ gladiatorum certamina pugnantium pugno, columbarum uolatus, quæ se *in aere ⁴ resupinæ uersant	auum peregrinarum et rerum nouarum inspectio
	4	Delectatur etiam cantu, et *symphonia, ⁵ tum etiam choreis, et præstigiatorum, *fallacijs et captionibus ⁶ ad hæc parasitorum facetijs, *quorum est perstudiosus ⁷	ac tum profecto, cum in otio esse uidetur, quoddam ueluti negotiorum
Concourse at Court		pondus, quibus modum finemque imponit, quasi in orbem uersare non desistit	At uero nulla re magis *tenetur, ⁸ quam hominum frequentissimo conspectu, quo fit, ut aula,
F. 108a	1	maxima celebritate omnis generis hominum floreat	præcipue optimatum quos ex suis prouincijs, semel unoquoque anno, ad se uenire, et in aula uersari iubet, et se, cum prodit foras, ut armis pedites, tamdiu stipent, et prosequantur, quod illis nutu imperet, ut equos conscendant
		Quæ omnia miram Regis curiæ magestatem, et amplitudinem conciliant	
	2	Ex instituto, improbi Mahammeddis, usuque Agarenorum toga ad suras, caligis ad talos, tantum demissis, ijsque lineis uel laneis, aut *ex gossipio, xylinis, ⁹ candidis, et calceis, ex præscripti forma factis, uti, ijs qui ad amussim (ut aiunt) legem obseruant, fas est	At ille, tanti fallacis legislatoris, instituta, moresque facit ut sericis, auroque intextis, *picturaque collustratis ¹⁰ uestibus utatur
Jewelry		sago uidelicet, ad poplites, ut est Christianorum consuetudo, at caligis, quæ talos tegant et calceorum forma, a se excogitata	Auro autem se, margaritis et gemmis ornat
Weapons		Ensem, et pugionem Europæum gestat libentissime	Inermis nunquam est
Guard		Quin potius uiginti fere satellites, illum intra priuatos parietes, uarijs armis instructi, assidue circumsistunt	Hispaniensem uestitum, ualde probat, eoque se induit, loco arbitris remoto
European dress in private	4		

1 1st splendore. 2 1st alittuum captura "Alittuum" in MS 3 1st digladiationes 4 Later addition
5 1st pulsu musicorum instrumentorum 6 1st ac jocularum gesticulationibus
7 1st quorum est in eius aula, maximus prouentus et copia 9 1st capitur et delinitur
8 1st gausapis The MS has xilinis 10 1st picturatisque

Riding and driving Mode of sitting Elephantos, camelos, equos, et rhedam duobus equis iunctam, magna cum dignitate, dirigit, et moderatur Complicatis cruribus, in thoro, conchiliatis peristromatis strato, ut plurimum recumbit At uero, secundum se, sellam Lusitanicam, ex serico | uuloso gestari iubet in qua sæpissime sedet

His table Lautissima utitur mensa in quam epularum fercula, amplius, quadraginta **F 108b 1** inferuntur, maximis patinis quæ || operculis tecta, et linteis obuoluta, a coco obsignata, ut ueneri periculum, et suspicio declinetur aparitoribus præeuntibus, œconomio subsequente, ad conclauis uestibulum, iuuenes deferunt, ubi ab eunuchis accepta, ancillis traduntur quæ regiæ mensæ ministrant Palam epulari, nisi ad publicum **2** conuiuium inuitatus, non consuevit Vinum raro potat | Posti potione, uel aqua **Drinking post.** sitim depellit cuius immodico potu, stupefactus sedet, et oscitatur Solus in triclinio cubat, lecto ad uulgarem, et popularem formam, fabrefacto, culcitra, et puluuiis tenui lana, exoticæ, cuiusdam herbæ factis, et sericis stragulis, ornato, et strato

Splendour of his palaces Jamuero, magnificentia ædium regiarum, ad splendorem, Europæorum ædificio- **3** rum, | proxime accedit Sunt enim, magnificis operibus, non solum pictæ, sed etiam sculptæ, è dolatis saxis, ab imo fundamento, ad crepidinem ædificatæ et

M o g h u l architecture quantum satis est, in altum, editæ, longe diuersa ratione, reliquorum ædificiorum, quæ ab alijs, Indiæ regibus, extrui solent quæ depressa, et humilia sunt haud **4** aliter quam simulachrorum | delubra eo sane ambitu, ut quattuor latissimas basilicas, complectatur quarum potior, et ornatiore est regis, altera matrum familias, tertia liberorum quarta rei familiaris penu et armarium Eas ædes, non tegulæ sed fornices tegunt, et tuentur quas solaria, concinno tectorio, pauimentata, ab iniurijs **5** cœli tuentur quod humorem | allapsum extrinsecus facile repellit Ornantur uero,

F 109a 1 multis fastigijs, quattuor columellis subnixis, quæ porticulas efficiunt || Ad hæc **Dove-cots and pigeon-flying** ornamenta ædium, non parum pulchritudinis afferunt, turres, quibus columbæ includuntur, quæ tectoriolo circumlitæ, et laterculis miniatis, cæruleis, luteis, candidisque tectæ, magnam præ se ferunt pulchritudinem Et columbarum, eunuchi, et ancillæ curam habent quarum uolatus, datis pro libito signis, perinde moderantur, **2** ac boni | duces, optimos milites, bellicis tibijs, et tympanis Et quod portento simile uidebitur, si addatur ut choros ducant, et ut ueluti ad numeros sese uolando, in orbem resupinæ conuertant, sibilis assuefactas, aut emittunt, aut reuocant ut iussæ supra tectum subsidant, iussæ intra tectum se condant iussæ tandem e nidis **3** erumpant Pari amplitudine, ædificata ædes maxima | extat, in qua est sepulchrum,

Tomb of Pir Shakh-ul-Islām (Safim Chishtī) Pirxecolidezcamī, eius Sophī, *qui Regi suasit ut Siquirim commigraret,¹ qui *per summam stultitiam² pro sancto colitur, *cum homo fuerit omnibus Agarenorum sceleribus flagitijsque contaminatus²

Rapid building Non minori sunt dignitate reliquæ ædificationes, quæ ab ipso Zelaldino, in varijs sui regni locis, extructæ sunt quas mira celeritate, plurimis adhibitis architectis, **4** fabris, et operis exædificat, et absoluit | Nam amplissimum peristylum cum porticulis latum, longumque pedes ducentos, tribus mensibus, Balneas trecentorum

¹ Ist quem ante diximus, Regi suasisse ut eo commigraret

² Later addition

pedum, rotundo ambitu, cum apodyterijs, et conclauibus, et aquæductibus¹ plurimis ubi ipse perfunditur, sex mensibus absoluit Et ne ferramentorum, quibus tum saxa,

5 tum trabes, et reliqua materia secantur, et dolantur, fragore obtundatur | secundum propositam, ædificandi² descriptionem,³ alibi omnia concinne fabrefacta, in eum locum, ubi ædificium⁴ extruit,⁵ inuenta componi, compingi et coagmentari iubet |

F 109b 1 Quæ cum a Sacerdotibus diligenter obseruarentur, illud in mentem uenit quod in ædificatione, templi Hierosolymitani, accidisse fertur, cum construeretur fabrorum ferrea instrumenta, non esse audita, absque prodigio euenire potuisse

Meaning
of 3 Kings
ch vi v 7

Manual
occupations.

2 At uero, usque eo fabricæ deditus est, ut in lapidicina cum alijs operis, non semel lapides excidat Nec ab artifijs | opificum, cum nihil habeat ingenuum officina,

Useful
arts

abhorret Imo uero et ipsorum artes animi causa nonnunquam exercet Quo studio, atrium propter basilicam ædificauit ubi honestiorum artium sunt officinæ, quales sunt pictorum ars, et aurificum, textorum, armorum, et eorum qui aulæa et peristromata contexunt quo sæpissime solet uenire, ut aspectu | earum rerum, animum defatigatione leuet

Patroniz-
ing letters

Eruditis etiam uiris, admodum fauet et secum semper, doctiores uersari, et de rebus philosophicis, et ad religionem, cultumque Dei spectantibus, coram se disputare, antiquorum regum, et rerum cum laude gestarum historias, explicare iubet Ac cum plurimum, iudicio et memoria polleat, alios audiendi patientia, et disputandi

Unable to
read or
write, yet,
well in-
formed

4 exercitatione non mediocriter, in multarum rerum cognitione, et scientia progressus est quo litterarum ignorationem (est enim legendi, scribendique prorsus ignarus) non compensat solum, uerum etiam res difficiles adeo plane ac *dilucide⁶ exponit et de quauis re proposita, acute arguteque | respondet, ut nemo qui nescierit, ipsum litterarum esse ignarum non eam doctissimum, eruditissimumque esse iudicet Et id

F 110a 1 profecto iure, nam præterquam quod, ingenij acumine, uti diximus, præstat facultate dicendi cui accedit Regis summa authoritas, et amplitudo *longe⁶ plerosque suorum qui scientiæ laude excellunt, *multumque superat Solent autem, singulis

Jesters

quibusque diebus, de rebus litterarijs disputare Loco histronum, ethologos, mimorum commentatores, eo libenter audit, quod etiam hoc genus dicendi, litterarium

2 quippiam sapiat Nam fabulæ, quales sunt comœdiæ tragediæ, et id genus alia

The Qurân
forbids thea-
tricals,

a legislatore, agi prohibentur qui adeo fuit, fraudulentus, ut indifferentia, quædam (quæ Græci dicunt δόλις, πονηρία) prohiberet, quo probitatis et sanctitatis existimationem, et famam captaret qua parta, sibi uiam muniret, ad ea præcipienda, quæ sunt ab

3 omni hominum, non dico dignitate uerum etiam sensu aliena Nam ut unum,

not incestu-
ous unions,
nor polyga-
my

et alterum in medium afferamus, incestas nuptias, cum cognatis, et affinibus fœminis, matre tantum, et sorore excepta, permittit deinde duas uxorū formas confluxit, et inter Agarenos induxit una, matrum familias, quattuor hæ sunt quæ in manum

4 conuenerunt altera, earum quæ tantummodo uxores habentur et hæ quidem, tot esse possunt, quot quisque alere, aut ære suo comparare potest Quam fœdissimæ

A's 300
wives

luxuriæ impunitatem, et licentiam, Reges ad conciliationem pacis, cum principibus sibi subditis, et uicinis transferunt Nam eorum filias et sorores domum suam

1 "Aqueductibus" in the MS

4 1st diligenter

1st delineationem

6 Later addition.

1st collocat

6 1st multis spatijs superat, et antecellit

traducunt Quo factum est ut plures trecentis Zelaldinus domi suæ habeat, quæ
 F 110b 1 distinctis || conclauibus, in amplissima aula habitant ex quibus tres tantum, liberos
 mares, et duas filias sustulerat quo tempore, cum eo Sacerdotes uersabantur
 His 3 sons and 2 daughters Filiorum nomina hæc sunt maximus natu, Xecus, eius Xeci caussa, quem diximus,
 suasisse Regi, ut *Siquiri habitaret ¹ nam primus, post eam migrationem, natus
 2 est,* et saluus | atque incolumis seruatus² secundus, Páharis, tertius Dánus uel
 Daniálus

Hindū
ministers

Rei suæ familiaris, et totius regni gubernandi, consiliarijs, et administris, tan-
 quam sibi amicissimis, et ad rem gerendam sapientissimis, fortissimisque, uiginti fere
 regulis, gentilibus utitur, qui semper, cum eo uersantur et ad aulæ penetrales [sic]
 3 admittuntur quod, uel ipsis etiam, Mongolorum optimatibus, | non licet Prouinci-
 Chagatal arum uero præfecturas, cum copijs militum, proceribus Xacattæorum, qui sunt ei ne-
 cessitudine, coniuncti deferre solet

Chagatal
generals

His sons'
tutors

Ijsdem liberos, non solum educandos, et instituendos, verum etiam in tutelam
 tradit ut eos sibi, arctiori charitatis uinculo deuinciat et ut, ij, si aliquo infortunio,
 4 ipse tollatur, suorum pupillorum curam | habeant et eos, ab iniuria uindictent, illorum

Education
of his sons,

qui cum ipso, dum uiuit, similitates gesserint Verum, ad litteras perdiscendas, ex
 instituto, moreque Persarum, eruditos uiros, senio, et *uirtutis simulatione³ (ut sce-
 leratissimi Agarenorum mores ferunt),* et inani ostentatione specie quidem pios⁴ et
 præstantes, assignat tum lanistas qui arma tractare, doceant, et agitadores, qui
 equitandi, et sagittarios qui iaculandi artem tradant Filias uero a matronis educari ||
 F 111a 1 atque institui, loco a uirorum conspectu, remotissimo, diligentissime curat a quibus
 legere, et scribere docentur

and
daughters

Deliberat-
ing

Jam uero in consilio capiendo, hanc sequitur rationem ut uniuscuiusque con-
 siliarij, sententiam priuatim exquirat, et in eam inclinet, quæ pluribus, et potioribus
 probetur A se statuta, quasi adhuc, de re ipsa deliberet suis proceribus, peruul-

2 gat, | hoc modo "Sentio hoc esse faciendum, probatisne, sententiam?" Quibus
 respondentibus, "Pax Regi" adiungit, "Fiat ergo" Quod si eorum aliquis, in

eius sententiam non ueniat, libenter audit et a sua, interdum discessionem facit

3 Huius ordinis, homines, septem seligit, qui suo quisque | die, *omnium,⁵ qui ad
 Regem adeunt, negotia procurent postulationes proponant et responsa Regis ut in
 codicillos referantur excipiant quorum est etiam eos *qui ad pedes Regis ut accidunt
 admittuntur,⁶ ueluti ceremoniarum antistites deducere, et reuocare, et statuto loco,

7 Council-
lors Their
work

4 pro hominum | dignitate, coram Rege sistere, et eorum, ad Regem postulata perferre

Kindness
to foreign
princes

Verum longe alia ratione, exteros homines, atque longinquos, quam suos indi-
 gentales, et domesticos accipit Nam exteros profecto, perhumane, et perbenigne,

5 præcipue aliorum, regum legatos et uiros principes, | qui suis regnis puls, eius
 patrociniū implorant Quos auxiliaribus copijs expeditos, illo tantum oneris officio

Embassy
from the
Viceroy of

obstringit, ut suis mensuris, et argento a se facto, atque signato utantur Verum
 *eius præsidis qui Sanaæ degit,⁷ et Arabiæ Fœlici, pro Turcarum rege præest ||

1 1st ut Siquirim commigraret.

2 1st et superstes euxil.

3 1st uitæ integritate

4 Later addition

5 1st aduentitiorum

6 1st qui ad exosculandos eius pedes admittuntur

7 1st Molensis præfecti, qui Sanaæ degit.

F 111b 1 legatos, ita accepit, ut * in fumum¹ ea legatio abierit, et ipse legatus, * in uincula
 Sanaa, badly received coniectus Lahori diu exularit,² comitatusque eius, clam aufugerit Eius rei causa ferebatur, quod eos elatos, et a superbo domino missos, animaduertisset tum quod eum, ad bellum gerendum, aduersus Hispaniae, et Lusitaniae regem, hortarentur At
 2 uero Materteram, Mekka redeuntem, lectica ornatissima | uectam, per uias sericis
 A's aunt returns from Mecca stratas, domum eius, populo nummos spargens deduxit Enimuero cum nobilibus
 Harshness to subject princes qui * in superbissimo eius dominatu³ sunt, tantam grauitatem seruat, ut unusquisque sic se, despiciatui duci putet, ut, ultimum se (quod ueteri prouerbio dicitur) Mysorum esse, prope existimet, atque in eos (si peccent), acrius, et diligentius animaduertit,
 3 quam in reliquos | populares, et plebicos
 Amanuenses Atque uti, septem senatorij ordinis uiros, singulis hebdomadae diebus, habere diximus, ita * ex scribarum collegio,⁴ singulis etiam diebus, quaternos, aut quinos * libranos,⁵ assignat qui omnia, quae secus regem transiguntur, et ab ipso uel cauentur,
 Their diligence uel imperantur, perscribant et regis uerba, tanta celeritate excipiant, ut ne in ter-
 4 ram | elabantur, et excidant, diligentissime curare uideantur Quae, nimis superstitiosa consuetudo, a priscis illis, Persarum regibus, dimanasse uidetur, qui sacrarum litterarum testimonio, apud Danielelem, Esdram, et Estherem ita factitasse comperiuntur et hos scribas, prisci illi reges, ab accidentibus, ideo uocabant, quod eorum
 F 112a 1 esset partium, omnia quae eueniebant, accuratissime || in commentarium referre atque
 and servility illa quidem, * puerilis est stultitia, ut fatui homines, rusticum et agreste esse ducant, in Regis umbra pedem ponere aut uestigium imprimere⁶

Dan 6
 Esd 3 6
 Esth 6
 Esd 3 2

Hi quos diximus et tribuni custodum, et uigilum, et ipsa cohors (quae ea die per
 Rotation of offices uiginti quattuor horas, excubias agit, e regis penu * datis cibarijs⁷ prandet) Janitorum etiam, aparitorum, ac lictorum excubiae singulis diebus, * renouantur et⁸ instaurantur | At uero, assidue in aula uersantur magnus praetor, consiliarius priuatus,
 Permanent retainers quaestor, * conficiendarum rationum magister, aedilis, censor, cubicularius maximus, aulae moderator, qui rem familiarem Regis tuetur castrorum saxametator tribunus
 3 aerarius, ianitor maximus flagitiosorum, qui in custodia continentur, | custos, carnificum tribunus, et culinae Regis praefectus, et id genus alij
 How upstarts are treated Caeterum ignobiles, et nouos homines, et a se ipsis, ut dicitur, ortos, atque alienigenos, si eos solertes, et sui negotij, bene gerentes, comperiat, suis domesticis ad-
 4 scribit, et ad honorum ampliorum gradus, paulatim euehit | Verum si abiectas artes exercuerunt, suorum opificiorum instrumenta, ut praeférant, praescribit ne unde excitati, ad eum gradum ascenderint, obliuioni (ut fit) per socordiam, et insolentiam, tradant

Atque, ut ij, qui assidui sunt in aula, munera sua, facilius, et accuratius obire
 5 possint, singulis * triclinia, intra basilicae septa, | aedificari iussit, ubi interea quiescant, dum suo quisque munere perfungitur quae uocantur iātaxqhana, i e, domus solatij, uel domus sedandae sitis

The yata-sh-khana

F 112b 1 Illud sane || dignum est, ut principes imitentur, quod plurimos adolescentulos, et

¹ ist ut in fumum et nebulam

Later addition.

² ist sub eius dominatu.

⁴ ist ex non paucis scribis.

⁵ ist anilis est superstitio, ut uani homines nefas esse ducant regis umbram pedibus premere.

⁶ Later addition.

⁷ ist rationum accipiendarum magistratus.

⁸ ist aedículas.

Orphans as pages.	puerulos nobiles, qui patre orbi sunt, sua mensa alit, et ingenue, et liberaliter ut educuntur, *curæ habet ¹
Sources of A's wealth Revenues	Magna profecto *exigit, ex prouincijs, uectigalia, ² eo quod sint, mirum in modum, opimæ, et fertiles, et ubertate agrorum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine, earum rerum, quæ uel importantur, uel exportantur Quibus accedunt, crebræ hæreditates, optimatum quæ omnes, ex præscripto, et consuetudine, regi ueniunt Præterea spolia, regum et tyrannorum, quos bello uicit quorum thesauros complexus est, et corrasit Quas opes, non mediocriter auxit, acceptis muneribus, a nouis subditis, omnium prouinciarum quas armis, suo imperio adiunxit quibus etiam, plurimorum hominum fortunas exhaustit Ac ne aliquid prætermittere uideatur, quod ad peculium augendum, pertineat mercaturis faciendis, rem quærit eamque non mediocriter auget Tum deinde, nullos esse sinit, in regno argentarios, sed per ærarios, tribunos, et scribas, qui pecuniam numerent, argentariam facit maximam cum ex ærario, tantum liceat, auream *pecuniam ³ cum argentea, aut ærea, et e conuerso commutare Cum enim, pro dignitate eorum, quibus pecunia numeranda est aut auro, aut argento, aut ære stipendia soluat fere fit, ut qui, alterutro stipendia accipiunt, tertio opus habeant Quæ quidem rei augendæ ratio, etsi sordida putari possit, duas tamen uidetur afferre utilitates altera est, quod adulterinæ pecuniæ, uia præcluditur altera est, quod eodem semper pretio, pecuniæ commutantur nec argentariorum fraudibus, qui mutant circumueniri pecunia queunt Ac cum in idem ærarium, æs omne confluat nullius esse caritas potest Equos præterea liceri, se, aut suo stipulatore inscio, cauit deinde, exquisitis palam pretijs, licitationibusque, libere factis, hoc est, nemine opposito, qui contra se liceatur optimos quosque, *coemit, et ut uolentiæ suspicionem obliteret, enumerato pretio, aliquot præterea uenditori aureos persoluit ⁴ Et cum parciore sit, et in retinenda pecunia tenacior, ditissimus omnium regum est, qui nostra, et maiorum memoria, in orientis plaga abhinc ducentis annis, extiterunt quod eius auribus dant, qui eum circumstant reguli, ut se in illius gratiam, et beneuolentiam insinuent At uero, ad diuitiarum ostentationem quatter singulis annis, hoc est, tertio quoque mense, aceruum signati æris sacculis inclusum, latum pedes decem, altum triginta, palum excitari, in atrio aulæ extimo, prope uestibulum iubet Cui assident tribuni, et scribæ ærarij qui numerandæ pecuniæ præsentant Quæ, deducto lucro, quod argentarijs futurum erat, cui soluenda est, numeratur Vnoquoque uero sacco, quattuor fere sestertia includuntur
Hoards of deceased grandees Spoils of war Presents.	
Trading Banking	
F 113a 1	
Right of pre-emption on horses	
A the rich- est King of the East	
Trimestrial weighing of money	
Formans signed and sealed	
F 113b 1	
One of the Queens the keeper of the seal	

¹ 1st diligenter curam habet² Later addition.³ Later addition² 1st habet ex prouincijs, stipendiaria uectigalia⁴ 1st aliquot superiectis nummis, coemit ut uolentiæ suspicionem obliteret⁵ Later addition4000 asses
4000 reates
4000 nummi
nummi exigui
significati
cat 6

2 id potissimum, in gratuitis beneficijs, quæ regia | liberalitate, conferuntur Quod si
 Errors of officials severely punished ab ijs, quorum interest, ex muneris sui nexu, aliquid peccetur, mirum est, quam
 acriter, in peccantem animaduertat eo quod, publicam fidem uiolasse uideatur
 Quo fit, ut cum illius seueritatem formident omnes in officio semper esse, et ad eius
 3 se uoluntatem, nutumque conuertere, summa ope nitantur Justum | enim, et ius
 Severity tempered with kindness accuratissime colit, et administrat Ac cum ex instituto, legis Agarenorum, uno, et
 altero iudice de caussis decernatur caussam tamen, contentionemque, de capite
 hominis cuiusquam, reliquas item caussas, quæ non ex crimine, sed ex controuersia
 4 tantum constant si magnæ sint utilitatis, | et momenti, ad suum iudicium deduci
 iubet Ac cum facile excandescat, et facile *deterueat ¹ uir alioqui, natura beneficis,
 et benignus ut sine inuidia, culpa plectatur et sine culpa, inuidia ponatur cauit
 ut cum ipse, de facinore, iudicium facit sontes, ne antea mulcentur, quam tertio,
 A witty soldier escapes punishment id imperet faciendum In eo bello quod ad Paharopanisadas confecit cum iuxta
 5 Bydaspem castra | haberet, duodecim transfugæ milites, ab excubijs, cum ad hostes
 F 114a 1 transfugerent interclusi, et capti, ad eum perducti || sunt Quorum iudicium, cum
 ipsemet exerceret, et quosdam in uinculis asseruari, ut diligentius, eorum caussas
 cognosceret quosdam proditiõis, et fugæ conuictos necari, iuberet unus eorum,
 qui morti addictus, a carnificibus rapiebatur facultatem loquendi exorauit “O
 Rex,” inquit, “ne me, in * patibulum ² agi iubeas nam mihi summam *agilitatem
 2 “ad rem quandam | egregie præstandam ³ natura largita est”—“Cedo (inquit Rex)
 “quid potes miser præstare?”—“Modulate (ait) cano”—“Age igitur cane” Cœpit
 miser, uoce adeo, extra modum absona, et absurda perstrepere ut risus omnium,
 atque obmurmuratio fieret, et Rex ipse, risum uix teneret Quod cum, sons ille
 3 aduerteret, adiunxit “Con dona mihi, o | Rex, hanc noxam Nam quoniam me
 “lictores isti tui, raptim et turbulenter, æstuosa, et puluerulenta uia, pugnis con-
 “tusum, traxerunt, multo puluere, præclisis faucibus, uocem ita obtudi, ut raucus,
 “minime canendo excellam” Quod ille acute, et facete dictum, ita illustri gratia
 4 accepit ut animaduersionem, et supplicium, quo usus erat in eum, et | eius socios,
 huic uni remitteret *et condonaret ⁴

Penalties Sontium uero hæc fere sunt supplicia qui capitale commiserunt, aut pedibus
 elephantum proterendi proijciuntur, aut palis infiguntur, aut suspendio enecantur
 Raptores, et adulteri, aut iugulantur, aut in furcam aguntur Atque stupra, et
 adulteria ita exhorret, ut suarum mercium maximum internuntium (proxenetam ||
 F 114b 1 Græci dicunt) eo quod per uim, puellæ, Brachmanarum generosa stirpe profectæ,
 uxorem habens, stuprum intulisset, neque prece, neque pretio, neque gratia deduci
 potuerit quin iugulari iuberet Nefarium malum, quod impius Mahammeddes, lege
 non coercuit, hic crudelibus loris, *cædens sontes, ⁵ puniri iubet Jus dicunt duo
 Ministers of Justice iudices, alter primarius, | alter ad quem, si appellatio intercedat, iudicium deferatur
 Prætor, uel Quæsitõr unus Et iudicia uerbo dumtaxat, non scriptis fiunt Sontes,
 in uinculis quidem, at non in carcere custodiuntur Si viri principes sint, qui custodiæ
 State-prison Gwallor mancipantur, Goalerim amandati, in uinculis, et in squalore, carcere inclusi contabes-

¹ In MS deferbeat.² Ist in crucem³ Ist copiam, et facultatem rei cuiusdam egregie præstandæ⁴ Later addition⁵ Ist cæsis sontibus

- 3 cunt At uero generosi, | * optimatibus¹ traduntur Populares autem, uel cursorum
præfecto, uel carnificum, et lictorum tribuno At tribunus hic, instrumenta quædam
**Scaring cul-
prits** puniendi, ut sunt lora, et uerbera, et nerui, acutis sudibus æreis muniti, et lignum
quoddam teres, * ad tundenda latera, aut comminuendum cerebrum factum² et fla-
4 gellum, alligatis sphaëris aliquot quæ præacutis | clauis æneis instructæ sunt (puto
hos ab antiquis dici scorpiones) in aula, secus regem, circumfert Quibus tamen
instrumentis nemo cæditur, et potius ad metum incutiendum quam ad cædendum
comparata uidentur quam etiam ab caussam, pro foribus regiae domus, uaria genera
uinculorum, cathenarum, pedicarum, armillarum, et manicarum, in ea porta pen-
dent quæ huic concredita est Nam hic, unam aulae portam, asseruat, ianitorum
**The 4 gate
keepers** F 115a 1 * tribunus³ alteram, tertiam lanista, quartam, cursorum || tribunus custodit
Ad lictores uero pertinet horas clepsydris metiri et pulsu * ahenorum,⁴ quota
**Water-
clocks** horæ pars sit, significare Clepsydræ, hoc modo constituuntur Phiala ænea impletur
aqua, conus item æneus excauatus, ea magnitudine paratur, ut tenui foramine,
dum aquam haunt, horæ quadrantem ad summum usque insumat Is aquæ uas-
2 culo | superponitur, quæ per foramen illapsa, conum ubi compleuit, immergit quo
immerso, quadrantis signum datur Ad cuius horologij pulsum, omnia in aula
diriguntur et statis horis, hoc est, ante auroram, cum gallinacei canere incipiunt,
**Music at the
Naubat-
khāna** et uesperis, tubæ, litui, tympana, cistra, crotali, et id genus multa, incondite unus
3 horæ spatio perstrepunt |
Couriers Cursoribus, nuntij quidam annumerantur, quos Græci δαυροδες, Indi gelabdares *Strabo lib 11*
dicunt, nos non inepte, pegasos (i.e., pernice) dicere possumus, qui pedibus, uno die,
tantum itineris conficiunt quantum eques, qui contento cursu, iter facit Quibus, ut
fertur, epar infantulis eximitur ne halitus difficultate laborent, deinde soleis
4 plumbeis, ita currere | assuescunt uel in eodem loco hærentes, ita pedes, et crura
mouere ut calcibus nates attingant Quo fit ut demptis soleis, ad cursum paratissimi,
et aptissimi euadant Horum pernecitate, ac celeritate fit ut, et quam citissime,
5 et quam frequentissime, et a suis certior fiat, et suos certiores faciat | omnium
rerum, quæ ad sui regni tranquillitatem pertinent⁵
**Limits of the
Empire** Quod quidem latissime patet⁶ Nam ad Aquilonem uersus Circium, monte Imao,
qui etiam nunc, ab incolis Cumaumus dicitur, continetur Indi amne, et Paha-
F 115b 1 ropaniso || ad Austrum, Gangetico sinu, et mediterraneis, aliquot regionibus, quæ
Narsingæ, uel Bisnagæ, supra Pandas attingunt fines, deinde Ariacum qui
Goæ adjacent, et Cuncanenses, uel Cānaræ hodie dicuntur ac Sedanorum qui Xeulo
imminent et Decanici dicuntur ad solis occasum Gedrosiæ, et maris Indici littore
2 ab ortu Emodorum parte, quæ magis ad Eurum | flectit et ipso Gangis uado, qui ex
eodem, quo Jomanes monte, sed diuerso fonte, atque cursu, illabitur Cæterum,

¹ 1st magnatibus

1st præfectus

² 1st tundendis lateribus aut comminuendo cerebro⁴ In MS Ahenorum⁵ The following marginal note later in date and cancelled, would come naturally here *Hæc quidem omnia instituta nuncque Tartarorum ad quorum se morem componere summa ope contendit Nam maternum genus a Cinniscan dicitur* (Inf fol 110 a 1)⁶ Here occurs a marginal note in Portuguese *Daguis pertence a descripção do Reyno do Eghbar ate f* The f occurs again at fol 117 a 1 after *legationis exitus obstulisset*

- lectorem hoc loco admonitum volo, me *hic¹ non Indiam circumscribendam, sed Equebaricum regnum suscepisse † Enimuero, Gedrosiæ maximam partem, nuper tum deditione, tum armis Zelaldinus obtinuit Quo fit, ut totius regni ambitus, 3 credatur | bis mille passuum millia excedere atque in umbilico eius Indiæ esse, quæ a veteribus, India intra Gangem, est appellata ad quam, Alexandrum Macedonem peruenisse, ueteres historici commemorant et a nostris scriptoribus memoriae proditum est. D Barp [tholomæum] Christi Euangelium intulisse Nam 4 diuus Thomas, in maritima regione, traditur fuisse uersatus | Est sane, regio peramœna, et salubris sed plurimis locis, arborum frugibus destituta et pro cœli, solique diuersitate, diuersorum etiam fructuum ferax Nam eo terræ cingulo (Cosmographi clima, uel gradum dicunt) quod magis Austrum spectat, eosdem, quos Indiæ maritima regio, fructus edit At quo magis, ad Aquilonem uergit, eo | similiore Europæ fructibus, fruges suppetit Verum ex Europæa multitudine, ac uarietate hæ tantum exuberant vuæ, mala persica, mora, ficus perpauci, || et *pinus,² in Imai iugo Malorum punicorum, et eius generis cæterorum, toto fere regno magnus est prouentus At, mala cotonia, pyra, et similia, importantur ex Persia Oriza, frumento, millio, et legumine reliquo, abundat plurimo In arboribus, quæ fructus, non edunt, quæ multæ sunt, solam platanum, ex Europæis uidi Salices etiam, in Indoscythia Linum, et canape, | multis locis seritur, qui Indo flumini sunt uicini Et ea herba, quæ uulgo dicitur bangué, et epóta, somnum, et stuporem mentis, et sensuum inducit canapi folijs persimilis est uerum, non uno tantum stipite, seu thyrsos eminet, sed, ut est fruticum natura, ex humili trunco, in uarios ramos abit atque scinditur 3 Anili, et oppij magna est, uersus | austrum, seges quarum segete, non parum regijs uectigalibus, lucris accedit Est uero anilum, herba quædam ex qua, succus quidam, exprimitur, qui ubi coalescit, cæruleum colorem, reddit Id uero nominis, ab indigenis, inuenit, qui, ut Persæ, nilum nominant, quod nos cæruleum appellamus at Lusitani addita littera anilum uocant |
- Hoc Indiæ regno (quod more Turcico Industan uocitant) Christiani reges potiebantur quos maiores nostri, propter rerum Indicarum ignorantiam, anteaquam a Lusitanis, India exploraretur presbyteros Joannes Indicos appellabant de quibus, 4 multa *superstitiose³ et aniliter fabulabantur | Ac quam hostiliter, et inimice, Agarenis cum Christianis hominibus, et cum religione, et sacris agant illud argumento est quod nullum omnino, Christianæ religionis uestigium, toto illo || multarum regionum tractu relictum sit cum Temur begij ætate hoc est, centum abhinc, et octoginta septem annis, eorum regum genus, adhuc maneret At uero, in interiori Imao, quo Agarenorum arma, non penetrarunt si Joguijs, fides est tribuenda qui multas regiones obeunt, sed multa commentitia, et a se conficta narrant, uerisque 2 fabulas, | intermiscent reliquæ Christianorum extant Nam a Sacerdotibus, nonnulli, de Imai montis situ, interrogati dixerunt montem esse arduum, et ascensu

¹ Later addition² The ink has somewhat eaten through the paper here. The word looks *pinus* rather than *pirus* Besides Monserrate states two lines further that pears were imported from Persia³ 1st inepte.

natalis soli i quo plurimi exulabant, desyderio impulsī, spe etiam certissimæ
victoriæ illecti bellum, ea fortuna instaurarunt ut omnia pene, quæ Baburus
occupauerat non obtinerent solum, uerum etiam, de rei summa, Emaumum secum |

3 agitare cogerent. Emaumum, in eas angustias, coniectus atque in maxima difficul-
tate constitutus ad Regem¹ Persiæ, nouæ sectæ² principem et inuentorem,² adiit ut

sibi suppetias³ ueniret. Cui ea conditione, suas legiones, quibus unus præesset im-
perator tradidit ut sibi | nomen daret, et suo, quod gestabat, capitis redimiculo
uteretur. Quam conditionem accepit. Quibus legionibus, omnia quæ Patanæi obtinue-
rant recuperant. et eos dum uixit, Persæ virtute, qui legiones ducebat, coercuit. At
terrore casu quem antea commemorauimus, Delini interijt, cum Zelaldinus filius
Agaræ esset.

At Persa, gratia, et fauore emortui regis insolens, quod omnia sibi accepta
referret et quod se patrem appellaret, || sibi constituendi Regis arbitrium, arrogare
conabatur. et cum Zelaldinus, Agaræ a suis ciuibus, Regem esse renuntiātum in-
tellexit ad egre molesteque ferens, Zelaldino obsistere, et Mirsaqlumo, Emaumi filio
secundo, qui Chibuli regnabat, lauere instituit. Sed hæc dum meditatur, eius con-

2 sili Zelaldinus inuenis strenuus, | anteuertit. Nam, ubi Persam uacillare intellexit,
inopinanti adortus commisso prælio cepit, non tamen interfecit, eo quod patrem
suum atque se regno, quod Patanæi occupauerant, restituisset. Quod dissidium
multis regulis, qui patri parebant, defectionis occasio fuit. At uero Persa superato,

3 isdem copijs, qui eiequo animo | paruerant et reliquo exercitu, facile illi fuit, bellum
commotum ab auo, confirmatum a patre, ita ducere, ut plane conficeret. Quo
superant Gacares, Cambouos, Baloches, Rattoos, Rasputes, Géretas ac Patanæos

quo prælio, Dauidem eorum regem peremit. deinde Indoseythas, et Mongolos, qui fratris
filij partes tuebuntur ad extremum | uero Caspiros. Equidem, urbium, oppidorum-
que, ac regionum, quas obtinuit, et principum reliquorum, quos bello superant, re-
nuntiationem, et enumerationem, ob nominum barbaras uoces, prætermittendam
existimo.

Et ut de urbium dignitate aliquid dicam. iucundum quidem illæ aspectum,
eminus ostendunt. Nam crebræ turres, et tectorum fastigia, | magnum ornamen-
tum, illis afferunt. Ceterum intus, uiarum angustiae, et earum inordinata, et pertur-
bata concursio, ipsis, omnem urbanæ pulchritudinis, splendorem eripiunt. Accedit,
quod nullæ sunt fenestræ, in ædibus, quod consulto fieri existimo, propter uiarum
sordes. Nihilo tamen secius, diuites homines, domorum tecta, et fornices emblema-

2 tis, | et picturis exornant. domi hortos conserunt, opere topiario uestiunt lacunas,
et piscinas, tectorio uarij coloris, illinunt, subterraneis tubis, fontes ducunt salientes
construunt. quæ imbrem altissime impellunt, sola uero faciunt, cocto latere, fictilia

3 uel secto lapide, marmorea. at uero, in fronte, aut uestibulo, nihil | arte elaboratum,
nihil est, quod prætereuntium oculos oblectet. nihil, quod ædificium commendet.
Et Brachmanarum, quamuis sit alia ratio ædificandi, hi tamen ligno, et lapidi,
simulachra arte statuarij, concinne incidunt, aut sculpunt. Ea sunt homi-

¹ 1st eodem fere anno quo Lusitana classis primum in Indiam appulit, ad Xa Ismaelem Regem

² 1st autorem 2ndly assertorem

³ 1st ferret.

⁴ Later addition

- num, et ferarum, quæ fabulis acceperunt at nunquam committunt, quin cristatum
 4 colubrum | appingant capitibus potissimum columnarum, quem Lusitani *serpentem
 cuculli¹ dicunt² Ægyptiam aspidem esse credo - Vulgus uero, et plebicolæ, in
 humilibus tugurijs, et casis degunt quo fit ut aduentitijs atque externis, nihil
 afferat noui, alia ciuitas si unam viderint Est autem Brachmanarum, atque
 F 119a 1 Agarenorum, in Zelaldini regno, Republicæ gubernandæ, dispar || admodum ratio,
 nam Brachmanæ, illam, contribulum senatu, et concilio, liberis sententijs guber-
 nant Agarenæ curia, et senatoribus carent omniaque, eius præfecti, qui a Rege
 potestatem acceperit, arbitrato, et sententia decernuntur³
 A's descent from Chingiz Khān 2 * Porro⁴ autem Zelaldinus maternum genus a Cinguiscono ducit quod Rex Ant Reg
 ipse, Sacerdotibus significauit At Cinguisconus, | [Euro]pæus Sarmata, *Alaunos⁵
 Scythias,⁶ aliosque⁷ qui per eam *Sarmatiæ⁸ regionem, quæ *ultra Tanaim et⁹ ultra Ptol lib 3
 Chingiz Kh leads the Al-ānī and Scythians to conquest c A D 1242¹ Beliam montem¹⁰ sita est, ad quem Alexandrum Macedonem peruenisse *et aras po- cap 5 tab 7
 Europa
 suisse¹¹ memorant, degere solebant ad eam diem obscuros, et finitimorum uectigales,
 primum e suis quasi latebris, in lucem, atque totius orbis theatrum eduxit Quorum
 eruptio circa annum salutis, millesimum, ducentessimum ac quadragesimum secundum Sab Ennea
 dis 9 lib 6
 3 sub | Mongolorum, et Tartarorum appellatione, Scythico¹² ac Sarmatico¹³ nomine, uulgata
 est quam *Mongolorum¹⁴ appellationem incertum est num acceperint, a primis suæ
 gentilitatis authoribus, an uero, ab arbitris, et iudicibus, qui eorum controuersias antea
 dirimebant, quam Cinguis eos in lucem educeret an ab agris ubi degebant, an
 Meaning of Mongol Tartar or Tātār 4 denique dicti sunt¹⁵ a Mongo amne, qui Arethusium excipit, in cuius ora | usque ad
 Sarmaticum mare, Tartari hybernis castris uersantur At Tartari, ex idiomatis, et
 linguæ suæ vitio, Tattâr, a finitimis uocati sunt nam concise, dura consonantium
 collisione, monosyllabas uoces, quas balbutiant, proterere potius quam proferre uiden-
 tur aliter quam Mongoli, qui uocibus, et sono, proxime ad Turcarum linguam,
 accedunt
 5 At uero Cinguisconus, in eum dignitatis | gradum, oraculo euectus esse fertur
 Oracle in favour of Chingiz Kh quod, uel ipse confixit, uel malus aliquis dæmon attulit Cui contribules eo fidem ha-
 buerunt, quod ægre molesteque ferrent, ob pascua uicinis uectigal¹⁶ || soluere, et
 F 119b 1 illum ut oraculum prænuntiabat, ducem sibi creauerunt Qui ut erat, uir gnarus, et
 ad imperandum natus, è uestigio, anteaquam, finitimæ Scytharum turmæ, rescirent
 et sibi multitudinem, ne forte, facti eam pœniteret, iuramento deuincire, et militum

¹ 1st serpentem cuculli, vel capitij

² Later addition

³ Everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS from Jamuero ad Zelaldinum (fol. 106b 4) Opposite, marginally, we have in Portuguese Isto | se ha de escreuer | d [paper injured] | tido das [?] folhas 115a 5

⁴ Later addition

NOTE—M₁ marginal notes in bold type are less satisfactory from this point I expected it from the nature of the subjects treated The spelling and identification of some proper names is left doubtful Scarcely any of Monserrate's authorities is accessible to me

⁵ 1st Scythiæ This passage from porro autem Zelaldinus (fol. 119a 1 to fol. 119b 1) was covered with a thin white paper From here to ennuero quoniam hactenus (fol. 140a 4), everything is bracketed or cancelled in the MS Opposite the words 'porro autem Zelaldinus' marginally, I read "Paras secui," which means, perhaps I have cut out these paragraphs

⁶ Later note, marginally Belia mons quis sit diuinandum est. Aytonum authorem sequitur hic Sabellicus, Enneade 9, lib 6

⁷ Long later marginal note, erased, illegible

7 Chiefs bid authoramentum fieri, curauit Deinde, ut tribunorum fidem periclitaretur impera-
to kill their children 2 uit | ut septem *tribuni,¹ qui ante constitutum regnum multitudinī praeerant, suos
quisque liberos trucidarent horrendum facinus, multitudinis metu et oraculi supersti-
tionibus adacti paruerunt Quo parricidio inauguratus suas copias, in decurias,
Army organ- centurias, chiliadas ac myriadas, assignatis * militum tribunis² distribuit quam ra-
lised 3 tionem postea, | Scythae sequuti sunt et finitimos primum Scythas, sub suum iugum
duxit, sibiue uectigales ac stipendarios fecit Et cum, satis sibi esse copiarum
perspexit quibus bellum exteris gentibus, inferre posset in Dauidem Indiae Regem,
David, the Indian Pres- cui Scythae uectigal pendebant, religione Christianum, castra mouit Quem ex inopi-
ter J-hn, de- fected 4 nato, duabus diuersa ductis turmis, | occupatum, facile superauit captum cum
c Kh mar liberis, et domesticis, trucidauit Uni tantum filiae, quam uxorem duxisse fertur,
ries his daughter pepercit

Furter a- Quod bellum, ubi conceit spolijs locupletior, et copiosior effectus ad remotio-
field Two of res gentes, armis petendas, curas, cogitationesque transtulit et copias uniuersas, in
his generals tres acies distribuit Quarum uni Bactrothorum praefecit qui ocupata Perside, et
F 120a 1 Maiori Armenia * deuicta, Iconum usque, Lycaoniae urbem peruenit | ubi ueteres
Turcae regni sedem posuerant Alteri Bactrothum qui * Tanaim transuectus,⁴ ultra
Pontum l'uximum progressus Iazigas Rhuthenos, Polonos, Paunonesque, magna
Himself de- clade affecit Tertiam, uersus Austrum creditur ipse, parum faeliciter duxisse nec
fected, enim unquam sibi pepercit quominus laborem, et periculum subiret Ac cum semel

2 pugna * inlesto atque inimico Marte⁵ conuulsa, profligatoque exercitu, ueprum
latebras petijisset, ferunt prodigio fuisse eruatum Cum enim hostes, qui fugientem
sequabantur, in dumetum ubi latebat uenissent ac perscrutari locum, adorti essent
and saved by bubo aus, superstitiosis hominibus mauspicata, strepitu aduentantium, exterrita,
an owl uolas et quarentibus, omnem recentis latebrae suspicionem, ademit Quo factum |
3 est, ut Regem querere desisterent et ut apud eam gentem, ea aus, in magno honore
demceps haberetur Verum hoc discrimine liberatus, et multis postea partis uictorijs,
insolens eo dementiae progressus est, ut animo super fastigium humanum elato, ut
Assumes vine hon- 4 ausus sit | Ac non minus stulte | quam impudenter, se orbis terrae solum dominum,
11urs et Dei filium, in castris pronuntiari iussit eo more, quo Agarenū, Mahammedem
Dei nuntium, * inelamant ac sui simile simulachrum, exculpi eoque proposito,
diuinos sibi honores tribui, Nabuchodonosorem imitatus, imperauit

Fertur aliquando, filios ad se vocatos, hoc modo fuisse, ad concordiam cohor-
Advice to tatus Jussit, ut singuli, singulas sagittas afferrent quas, cum allatae essent, uti
his sons 1 simul colligerent edixit, praecipitque natu maximo, ut fascem perfringeret, quod
F 120b cum frustra tentasset, et post eum, ex ordine, reliqui subiunxit "Si in tuendo
" imperio, concordēs fueritis, firmum erit sin minus, labascet, atque iniurijs hominum
" erit obnoxius "

Quod cum ipse, longe, lateque prorogasset, otij cupidus, Darganxum urbem, in
Darganx [Karāvo- media Scythia condidit et in ea ipsius sedem | posuit At uero in insania, falsae
rum? Kert- chagan?] his capital 2

¹ 1st praefecti
⁶ 1st parum faeliciter

1st praefectis

⁵ 1st superata
⁶ 1st proclamant

* 1st Tanai superato

⁹ Curtius
de India lib

Dan 3

Ant Coc Sa
bel ibidem

Rodericus
Gonsal e Cla
uigis

Killed by lightning diuinitatis, sibi adscitæ persistens, ipso uictoriarum medio cursu, de cœlo tactus, infœlici exitu, suæ temeritatis, et dementiæ pœnas dedit

His 12 sons free to choose their religion Qui, dum uiueret, duodecim filios procreauit, quibus integrum esse permisit, quam quisque uellet, religionem sequi cum se, ut colerent, cæteros supplicijs adigeret (ea solent | esse patres, erga filios indulgentia) Ex his, unus Christianus fuit,

One, Ogotai, a Christian Only 5 known by name 4 ex Indiæ regis filia natus cui nomen fuit Otthodayus Reliqui, in gentilitia superstitione perstiterunt *Quattuor, eorum, qui ex alia Cinguisani uxore nati sunt nomina, ad nostram usque memoriam perducta, sunt hæc ¹ Gabyrus, Xacattas, Osbequis, et Chiarcas Cæterorum uocabula exciderunt Pater, | Samarcandæ imperium, et unam aciem Xaccatæ dedit Cuius milites, a sui imperatoris nomine,

Samarkand to Chagatal His 3 sons Bokhara and Balkh to Uzbek Xacattæi, ut ab alijs Mongolorum cohortibus distinguerentur, dici cœperunt Huic tres fuere filij, Jachus, Batto, et Tagladayus Porro Boccoræ præfecturam, et Balcum urbem, Cinguiscanus, Osbequi cum iustis copijs, dedit a quo, pari ratione, eius milites Osbequij sunt nominati quorum genus, et nomen, "adhuc remanent ² At||

F 121a 1 uero reliquam Tartarorum, et Mongolorum multitudinem, ipsamque Scythiam, et The rest to Ogotai Darganum, quam ipse condiderat Otthodayo concessit cæteris uero filijs, singulas præfecturas, in alijs regionibus, quas ipse bello parauerat

Juji, Balu, Tagladay, off to war 2 Porro Xacattas, Samarcandæus imperator, ut qui uicinior Mediæ, atque Minori Asiæ esset filios in eas regiones, ut bellum gererent, | misit Jachiscanum, uersus ocasum, Battocanum, in Aquilonem Tagladayum in austrum, ipse cum lectissimo milite, Seras religione Christianos, bello premere instituit

Chagatal attacks the Xian Seræ Batu drowned in the Drave 3 Ac Batho, in Austriam usque impetu delatus, post ingentem editam stragem, in ijs regionibus, quæ ipsi occurrerunt cum magna suorum manu, in Drauo fluuiο, mersus interiit | *Copiarum uero tribuni, qui infortunium illud euaserunt, ad filios eius, quos tuendis regnis, a se comparatis, præfecerat confluxerunt

Tagladay defeated, Juji conquers Persia Tagladayus, ab Æthiopibus fusus, superstites copias, cum Jachiscani fratris exercitu iunxit cui etiam se subdidit Jachiscanus, in Perside agebat, ex qua, atque Mesopotamia, Turcas depulerat

Chagatal killed 4 Enimuero Xacattas, Sogdianorum | conspiratione, quam discordiæ, et intestina bella (quod a patre significatum erat) eius, et fratrum suorum, fouerant Samarcandæ occisus est Quo sublato, Samarcandæi Sogdiani generis imperatorem, sibi delegerunt qui ut Xacattæos (exercitus robur) beneficijs delinitos, sibi fortius deuinciret et ut significaret, quant militarem eorum virtutem, et nominis dignitatem æstimaret suos milites Xacattæos, || conscribi, ac censi præcepit Quo sublata est, pernicioza illa, animorum abalienatio, quæ ex generis, et appellationis diuersitate, inter externos, et indigenas oriri solet

Power of his sons crippled At Xacattæ filij, ac nepotes, cum ijs copijs Xacattæorum, quæ reliquæ fuerant, plurimis cladibus, ab ijs gentibus affecti, quarum regiones iniuste occupauerant, in 2 Scythiam iterum compulsi sunt ubi | more maiorum agere, * et errantes⁴ uagari, cum iterum instituissent, Xacattæi Tartari dici cœperunt Quo factum est, ut

1 1st quorum quattuor, germani fratres, ex alia Cinguisani uxore extiterunt Eorum uero nomina fuerunt.

2 1st ad nostram usque memoriam perductum est

3 1st eius uero duces 4 1st atque palantes

Ant Rec

D Ant 3^o
pars 1^a 19.
cap 8 § 17

Sabellicus
Enneadis
nona lib 6

Rodericus
Gonsal

Ghāzān Kh
favours the
Xtians,

non minus quam pater, et patruus, odio habuerit Agarenos aduersus quos, pro Christianis pugnauit Nam Armenis, et Hyrcanis, qui ut Hierosolymam ab Agarenis recipere, Palestinam petebant *cum suis cohortibus ducentorum millium equitum comitem se adiunxit¹ ac cum Babyloniae rex, cum equitum centum millibus,

Gurg
utlgo Lati
mis Hyrcani
vel Georgi
ant.
Bagdad
Babel Baby-
lonia

3 et | peditum, infinita multitudo illis occurrisset, uirtute atque consilio, Babylonios² deuicit² Syriamque obtinuit et cum Hierosolymam uictor uenisset loca sancta uisit Verum inchoato bello, necdum confecto, in Persidem reuocatus, ut Persarum, conspiracyem opprimeret ad Bonifacium Pontificem octauum, ad Galliae Regem, et ad principes alios | Christianos, legatos cum epistolis misit quibus eos hortabatur, ut Syriam, Hierosolymamque, quas ipse armis obtinuerat, occuparent Hic tandem,

marries an
Armenian
Princess,

ostento quodam, Christianus effectus est Cum enim illi, filia regis Armeniae, nollet nubere, nisi sibi esset integrum, more Christiano uiuere, et ille conditionem admisisset, uxoremque duxisset, in adulterij suspicionem, eo postea puella uenit quod de-

F 123a 1

torem | filium, patrique absimilem peperisset Quae cum sibi necem, a coniuge parari, intellexit ut sibi liceret, sacerdoti, peccatorum exomologesim facere, Eucharistiam accipere, et filium, sacro fonte perfundere, exorauit Quem ubi aqua sacra imbuuit, Dei beneficio, puer liberali forma, pulcherrimus effectus est at pater ostenti

and is con-
verted by a
miracle

2 magnitudine, | mitigatus reginaeque conciliatus et aquae sacramento delibutus Christiana sacra suscepit

3 Chris-
tian? Khāns

Quo e uiuis sublato, regnauit Totamixus cui successit Coramxas, post quem, Totamixus secundus, imperium tenuit atque hi Christiani fuisse creduntur Post quos, eorum qui Tartariae dominati sunt, a Temuro Claudio, nomina incuria scrip-
torum, *in obliuionem uenerunt³

Takhlamish

3 *Ac Zelaldini mater | nec regium genus nec dignitatem Cingiscani, in Zelaldinum transfudit fuit enim, priuati cuiusdam tribuni filia * Vocabatur Txoelij Beygum et anteaquam Emaumo nuberet data fuerat a parentibus Cayacano uxor Quare in Cingiscani genus uel ab aua uel ab alia Cingiscani stirpis heroide quasi insitione adiunctus est quam pridem autem, ab eo non accepimus Vera tamen narrare cum sibi ab illo muliebri genus esse affirmaret credidimus⁴ Quae cum ita se habeant, non immerito dixerimus beneuolentiam, qua Zelaldinus, Christianos amplectitur, haereditariam, et quasi a maioribus | acceptam, habere

Akbar's
descent from
Chingiz Kh
doubtful

Chūli Be-
gam, his mo-
ther, first the
wife of Qāim
(?) Kh

History of
Timūr
Ahl(?) Kh
of Samar-
kand

Timūr born
in Kesh or
Shahr i Sabz

4 Cæterum Temurus, a quo Emaumus, Zelaldini pater, originem traxit ex paruis initijs, in amplissimum dignitatis gradum, his studijs, quae mox dicemus, euectus est Qui, cum Samarcandae imperium, quod Xacattæi, eo modo, quem supra demonstra- uimus, tuebantur, Ahicanus teneret (quem ferebant ignoto patre, matre uero nobili natum), idemque optimis legibus, et institutis a se conditis, Persiae, et Syriae domi- naretur in pago Taragay || Quexensis urbis, quae ob amoenitatem, et agri hortorumque uiriditatem Xaresabz dicebatur patre Xacathæo, ac simulachrorum cultore, ordinis equestris, ac quattuor equitum *tribuno,⁵ matre pari nobilitate natus, patris fortu-

Rodericus
Gonsal

Virens et
mitas
Jouius no-
tum esse Sa-
marcandæ ex
ignobili atque
adeo humili
familia tra-
dit

¹ ist cum ducentis millibus equitum se adiunxit

² ist superauit

³ ist obliuione consepulta sunt

⁴ ist e quibus Zelaldini mater orta, regium genus et (quod dicunt) sanguinem non tamen dignitatem Cingiscani, in Zelaldinum transfudit fuit enim, priuati cuiusdam ducis, filia

⁵ Later addition

⁶ ist ductore

Cuius confidentia abusus, ut eum deluderet sibi cum alio rege bellum esse confinxit
 2 auxilianas | copias ab eo petijt, stipendarios interim milites conduxit Ubi exercitum comparauit, in Persia constitit arma perfidus in hospitem et clientem conuertit victum denique, regno, et fortunis omnibus spoliavit

Besieges
Ahmad Kh
at Alinga

At, ubi Persiam Xacattæorum præsijs firmauit Parthos primum, qui Persis

Success in
Tartary, Ge-
orgia, Arme-
nia,

3 uestigales erant, petijt Hamidus Persarum Rex pulsus, | in Alingæ castrum confugit
 ubi triennio a Temuro obsessus est Temurus in Tartariam profectus, Coramxam

Red G -

quem supra commemorauimus, ab excidio Cusaqhanæ (domus Cusae uertitur) redeun-
 tem superauit et regionis magnam partem, sub iugum misit Deinde Hircanos

4 Georgianos dicimus) fide Christianos, petiuit et eorum castrum, nomine | Tarcon,
 cepit ac Darbentum ad portas ferreas peruenit (Damarcab a Turcis dicitur) ultra
 Iberiam, atque Albaniam Deinde uersus Armeniam iter conuertit, prouinciam armis

& Mesopota-
mia

subegit Post hæc Mesopotamiam obtinuit unde regressus Euphratem iuxta
 Arsingam traiecit, et in Capadociam uenit

Pa 111
uas 1 1
Elegiar

Hucus in Capadociam *profectionis,¹ hæc caussa fuit Cum Arsingæ Dynasta

Red G -

F 125a 1 Payaziti, qui a se uestigal, et eam arcem postulabat, imperium *recusaret² ad

Helps Zar-
etan of Ar-
singa against
Bālazid

Temuri opem, missis legatis confugit qui ad Temurum, ob Persiæ regem, in Baby-
 loniam fugatum, Alingæ ouantem, peruenerunt Atque ab eo, literas ad Payazitum
 obtinuerunt quibus *Payazitum monebat ne Zaretanum, dedititium, et uestigalem
 suum, molestia afficeret Desineret uero, ab eo amplius tributum, et uestigal |

2 reposcere Idem, si rogaretur ab eo, se præstiturum Payazitus, ut erat insolens
 legatione excauit, et sibi inauditum, ad eam diem, imperatoris nomen contempsit
 eius uero potentiam parui pendit ad hæc minaces literas, et conuitijs plenas,
 ad eum rescripsit Imperare se, ut a Zaretano e uestigio discederet, sin minus,

3 sciret sibi cum | potentissimo hoste, bellum esse Erat Temurus Qhaterbago (uolup-
 tuarius hortus redditur) oppido in Persia, ubi hyberna castra habuerat, cum Payaziti
 literæ ei redditæ sunt. Quas ubi perlegit ob dictam, atque intentam contumeliam,
 extemplo castra, in Payazitum, mouit et³ uelut equisque (ut dicitur)⁴ in Capadociam

4 ueniens, Sebastem, quæ diui Blasij patria fuit, in primis inuasit et obtinuit, * cuius

Takes Sivas

magnam cladem attulit urbemque⁵ uastauit A qua, diluculo eius diei, profectus
 est qua uesper, Xelebius † Payaziti filius, ad eam, cum ducentorum millium sagit-
 tariorum exercitu peruenit Quem accessu noluit Temurus prohibere, nec cum illo
 prælium committere quod existimaret, sua magnitudine indignum, cum uicario impera-

Marches 5
on Bagh-
dad

tore, | et iuvene configere eoque neglecto, in Babyloniam castra mouit Ac cum
 * Tartarorum, qui candidi nominantur, cohortes,⁶ quæ incertis sedibus, omnium

Defeats the
White Tar-
tars

1 hostes uagantur, in quibus erant, uirorum et foeminarum quinquaginta millia,
 ei occurrissent prælium cum ilis commisit, ducem cepit, plerosque peremit, super-
 stites secum abduxit

Takes Bagh-
dad

Ut uero Babylonæ fines intrauit Babylonius imperator, ei, ut parceret a
 cædibus, atque incendio, stipendium, et auxilia detulit, et pecuniam, Temuri inscrip-
 tionem præferentem admisit et⁷ insignium ipsius notam, locis publicis, appingi

¹ 1st expeditionis

² 1st detractore

³ 1st quibus petebat ne

⁴ 1st citatis equis

⁵ 1st et incensurum clade edita

⁶ 1st Galactæorum Tartarorum cohortes

⁷ 1st armorum ipsius symbolum

- 2 atque in sculpis | permisit Babylonem itaque transgrediens, Damascum, opulentissimam Syriae urbem uenit quam ob eam causam expugnauit, quod suos legatos, qui suo nomine tributum repetebant, in uincula coniecissent Damascenos, Sebastenos (quorum plurimi Christiani erant) ac *candidos Tartaros¹ bello captos Samarcandam, ut expeditior esset, transmisit Ipse *aestiuus mensibus castra² Alaræ, in Armenia habuit
- 3 At vero | Payazitus, Sebastes excidio offensus, ut par pari referret, Arsingam Bālazīd takes Arsinga inimicitiarum *causam³ expugnauit at captam Zaretani uxorem, solui, honori que haberi, atque ut ab incendio, et cædibus urbisque excidio sui abstinerent, proposito supplicio, imperauit Quod, etiamsi Payazito, plurimi socordiae darent quoniam
- 4 *ultionem cum iniuria Sebastæ accepta exæquasse⁴ non uideretur, | uoluit ipse, sua lenitate, atque indulgentia, hosti qui se Dei flagellum iactabat, et truculentus, et sæuus haberi, potius existimabat inuidiam conciliare, magis quam illi similis, ne in re quidem minima, haberi At Temurus, ubi ab excubitoribus, Payazitum, Arsingam expugnasse cognouit Alara, quam citissime, uersus Arsingam et Sebastem
- 5 castra mouit Payazitus, | ubi hostem aduenire rescit, ut eum celeritate præuerteret impedimentis omnibus, atque ærario Anguri, quod erat munitissimum castrum, relictis, uelocissime hostem consectabatur, quod ubi Temurus rescit, iter ad sinistram flexit, et cum | Tauri montis iugum superasset, per octo dies intra montes se continuit Payazitus, cum Arsingam, et Sebastem uenisset nec a tergo, sibi hostem restitisse, antea rescuisset quam expugnati Anguri, exhausti, atque expilati ærarij nuntium accepisset ultra Sebastem profectus est Temurus autem, ut ea, quæ
- 2 prospere, atque ex sententia successerant, dolis etiam adhibitis, confirmaret | hanc A snare to Bālazīd technam excogitauit (Erat tunc temporis, in eius castris, Payaziti legatus) Se fumo sulphuris, et fæculeæ paleæ, ut expallescere, suffiri iussit deinde, magnam uim calentis sanguinis, *ex ipso jugulati bouis collo⁵ | hausit ad extremum, quasi ægerrime laboraret, decubuit Legatum, ut quam citissime ueniret, accersit Aduen-
- 3 tante legato, | magna contentione, et cum extremi periculi significatione, uomere cœpit et ea uomitione maximam sanguinis uim eiecit ut legatum, magna hominis misericordia cepit Quod ubi Temurus animaduertit, et satis eum sibi persuadere cognouit uere ipsum, atque serio laborare fracta uoce, et singultanti simili, "Vides,"
- 4 inquit, "quam uicinus sis morti | effluit enim cruor omnis Scribe igitur, Payazito "fratri meo, mihi esse in animo, rem omnem familiarem meam, liberos, exercitumque, "illi concedere Nemo enim est in orbe, ei potentia par, qui liberos, et rem meam "tutari queat Maturaret ergo, anteaquam excedam ipsius enim aduentu, ante "obitum meum, et suis, et meis copijs, bene consultum erit" Cui legatus "Sed "si placet, ego ipse, hero meo renuntiabo"—"Perge ergo," ait Temurus Hac
- F 126b 1 techna, et hostem securum, et incautum reddere et ad se accitum, | itineris faciendi, celeritate lassum, et debilem efficere, consilium Temuri fuit Legatus, Payazito, quæ uiderat, et quæ acceperat, a Temuro, quam citissime renuntiavit Payazitus, siue quod fidem haberet, Temuri uerbis, siue quod certam sibi uictoriam, hoste ægroto

1 ist Galactæos 2ndlv albentes Tartaros, 3rdlv candidos Mongolos

2 ist æstiuca castra 3 ist seminarium

4 ist iniuriam Sebastæ acceptam ad amussim ultus fuisse

5 ist ex bouis inciso collo

promitteret Angurum, quam ocyssime, perrexit Quo cum fesso milite, atque
 2 inordinatis copijs, peruenisset | nec Temurus, qui instructis ordinibus, et integro
 Bālazid milite, eum expectabat quiescendi, et suos colligendi, aciemque instruendi, locum
 beaten, relinqueret praelium committere coactus, superatus, et captus est Pugnatum tamen
 diu est, et per multas horas, dubia uictoria modo huc modo illuc, inclinare uide-
 3 bantur, | ut opem ferrent, illos qui praeuerant, et renitebantur quasi tempestuo-
 sum mare, quod uentorum procella, modo huc rapitur, modo illuc, atque incertum, Ex Jo. 12
 et dubium, eo quo procella uocat, impellitur Ad uesperam tandem, ad Tartaros sumpta sim
 uictoria propendit qui multitudine, et imperatoris astutia, Turcas longe exsupe- litudo
 4 rabant quos Tartari sagittarum | *magno et assiduo imbre¹ obruerunt Habebat
 enim in castris Temurus, quadringenta equitum millia quæ copiae, Darij, et Xerxis
 *copijs maiores erant² quibus ut arma, et tela, integrum diem suppeditarentur,
 diligentissime curauit Payazitus uero, in specum, et foueam, hostium impetu
 coniectus, effugere non potuit, quin a Mahammede Sultano, Temuri filio caperetur Rod Gens
 5 Nam equo, | quo uehebatur, resupino depressus, sese attollere, atque erigere
 captured, nequirit, estque ab eo uiuus, ad Temurbegum patrem, deductus Commissum est Petrus
 F 127a 1 praelium Anguri, in finibus minoris Armeniæ, Bythinæ, et Galatiæ, ad Stellam Mexia ibi
 montem qui ex Antitauro procurrit ubi latissimus est campus, qui Turcico Jounus
 & shamefully idiomate, Cassouassi (anatum campus) dicitur victoria Pompei, et Mithridatis calamitate citato
 treated celebrem Ac Temurus captum Payazitum, aureis catenis uinctum, et cauea
 2 inclusum, præ se egit, quocunque perrexit Saporum Persarum regem imitatus, | qui Jounus i⁷ 1
 Valerianum Cæsarem, similibus ludibrijs, atque ærumnis confecit Payazitus uero,
 et accepti damni dolore, et contumeliarum pudore, ac uerecundia, breui contabuit
 Ferunt enim, Temurum, uincto Payazito, ad mensam, ossa quæ roderet, quasi cani,
 proijcere solitum ac cum uellet *equitare,³ ex ipsius promi dorso, in equum *ascen-
 3 dere⁴ Hoste potitus, *ubi | Taurum montem transcendit,⁵ in Adiabenem, tanto
 ardore contendit ut illi, nullæ non ciuitates cederent Asiaque, et Syria manus
 darent Ac dum Payaziti imperium populatur, ad nouam Paladium peruenit, ubi
 paucos, ex Payaziti exitio superstites comprehensos, in Phrygiam, ad Quinisci
 arcem compulsi Ducenta uero millia Turcarum, eo praelio cecidisse memoriæ | Rod Gens
 4 proditum est
 Timūr in Nec tamen, bellum ulterius ducere, Temurus defatigatione desijt sed uictoriæ
 Egypt. flatum sequutus, Ægypti regem, qui Memphi regni solum habebat, ultra Pelusium
 abegit Eam uero, suorum militum, curam egit, ut minoris æstimarit, Ægyptum
 debellare, et obtinere cum rege fugato, nullus superesset, qui resisteret, essetque
 5 cum seruis (hoc enim | sonat Mamalucus) qui abiecti sunt animis, rem transacturus,
 quam salutem, et incolumitatem suarum copiarum in discrimen adducere, quas per
 solitudinem traducere; ob aquationis difficultatem, et penuriam ualde periculosum
 F 127b 1 esse intellexit A quo bello regressus, || Trapezuntis imperatorem, sibi vectigalem
 Extent of his fecit Teheranum urbem opulentam, et celebrem, Rhages conuentus, in Media
 conquests

1 ist prolumne.

4 ist insilire

2 ist copias superabant.

5 ist et Tauro monte superato

3 ist inequitate.

Mexia cu
 thor est Ve
 rum Jounus
 140000 et
 disse scribit.
 Sab'li-hat
 Ernead. 9
 lib 9
 Caytur
 Messee
 Hebr M'et
 Egyptus
 Mexia
 Jounus, et Sa
 bellicus, in
 cis addu
 Jounus et
 Damia'a fi
 nem uelut
 ut exacer
 a peste uel
 caret, scrib

obtinnit Imperij sui limitem, Alangogacæ, Arsingensis conuentus, in Cappadocia ^[Rhages]
 fixit Quicquid terrarum est, a Tanai flumine, ad Nilum amnem, suis armis domuit ^{Rheg pro-}
 2 Urbes cepit clarissimas Smyrnam, Antiochiam, Damascum, | Tripolim, Alepum, ^{u[incia]}
 Babylonem Persidem, Ecbathanam, Susas, Memphim, aliasque complures ^{Sabellus,}
^{ibidem}

Turns a-
 gainst Tokh
 tamish

Cum Tartaris sæpe manum conseruit, et Totamixum, Coramxæ Regis Tartariæ ^{Rod Gons}
 filium, quem ipse uicerat, in fugam bis uertit Res uero gesta est hoc modo Tota-

mixus, cum longe abesse Temurum, externis bellis occupatum accepisset, excur-
 3 sionem, in Mediam, | Adiabenem, atque Armeniam fecit qua Persepolim, Calami-
 ram, et Susas, atque alias urbes spoliavit, et spolijs locuples patriam repetebat

quod Temuro significatum est Qui cum ijs copijs, quæ suppetebant longe quidem
 inferioribus, Tartarum, ad Tesinam amnem, *is est Tanais,¹ in finibus Tartariæ
 est assequutus Quo cum peruenit, Totamixus *se¹ amnem traiecerat, uadoque

4 aggeres, et præsidia, | ne Temurus transiret, optimo consilio opposuerat nam eo
 excepto nullus erat, in ea regione, locus quo *trans Tesinam, absque nauiculis ire
 posset Quare cum impeditum iter, Temurus uideret ad dolos configit Totamixo-
 que per legatos, perferri iussit se non inimicitiarum causa uenisse, quod minores

Tokhtamish
 entrapped,

copiæ indicabant Quare frustra sibi timere, atque *transitum³ obstruere Ad
 5 quem Totamixus, sibi satis, superque | eius ingenium, et technas notas esse, remisit

F 123a

1 Desisteret igitur sibi uelle imponere Temurus discessum simulans, || in aduersum
 flumen mouit Totamixus itidem Et triduo ita progressi sunt At Temurus, ubi
 Totamixum, triduanis castris, ab amnis transitu, atque præsidijs abstraxit mulieres,
 uirilem cultum, et arma sumere, et in castris, cum armatis etiam seruis, et aliquot
 millibus equitum præsidiariorum, esse iussit ne hostis, sua castra, paucioribus

2 copijs | esse, intelligeret Atque ubi nox lucem eripuit, adiuncto sibi totius exercitus
 robore, binos equos, singulis militibus dedit, quos commutarent, cum defatigarentur
 et ea nocte, anteaquam dies elucesceret, duplo, quam exacto tridui spatio, progressus

and twice de-
 feated.

3 copias traduxit, et tertia fere, ab ortu solis hora, inopinantem Totamixum inuasit,
 deuicit, fudit, fugauit, castra diripuit | et prædam, quam ille corraserat, atque
 ipsius thesauros abripuit, et abduxit Conatus est Totamixus, comparato iterum
 exercitu, prælium instaurare et *susceptam maculam⁴ eluere, sed iterum, a Temuro
 uictus est, atque ob eam causam a suis infelix, et *ærumnosus⁵ habitus, eorum
 animos non mediocriter offendit

Samarkand
 described

4 At Temurus quicquid prædæ, spoliiorum, | mancipiorum, auri, et argenti, ex ijs
 omnibus regionibus, a se subactis collegerat, Samarcandam comportari præcepit
 At uero regna filijs concredidit prouincijs cognatos, atque affines Xacattæos præ-
 fecit Est uero Samarcanda, ciuitas amplissima, ad Jaxartem fluuium in Sogdiana,

5 prope Scytharum et Daharum fines sita iam inde | ab Alexandri temporibus, orbi
 celebris quæ Temuro rege ea erat amplitudine, ut tribus millibus passuum, a porta ^{Q Curtius}
^{lib 7}

F. 128b 1 in portam rectâ ferretur cuius ambitus nouem millium passuum || erat Eius
 autem suburbana plurimis uicis, uillis, hortis, ac uineis instructa, atque ornata, ad
 quattuor milia passuum, aliquibus locis patebant Vijs latissimis, ad urbem adiba-

Rod Gons

¹ Later addition.

² ist adytum

- ist Tesinam absque nauiculis transiret.

⁴ ist acceptam labem.

⁵ ist inauspicatus

tur quam aggeres, et ualla cingebant Foris uenalibus abundabat, in quibus, distinctæ merces, et cibaria, et annona reliqua uendebantur Ædes occurrebant, 2 structura concinnæ, | quamplurimæ Basilica intra mœnia laxissima, hortique, in quibus, socrus suæ, sepulchrum, regiæ magnificentiæ consentaneum, extrui iusserat In pomerio urbis, quattuor amplissimæ aulæ, atque horti spectabantur verum illa, quæ Talicia dicebatur, et tribus millibus passuum, ab urbe aberat, longe erat optima, 3 atque omnium amplissima | Tribus enim millibus passuum patebat Erat uero super amplissimo, et arte fabricato aggere constituta cui erat coniuncta uinea, eadem amplitudine, qua horti Urbis uero, atque agri prospectus, aduenis iucundissimus erat nam amœnissima potius sylua, quam ciuitas uidebatur | Porro, ea est, Samarcanda, cœli clementia ut ipsis Christi natalitijs, cum illæ regiones *frigore¹ maxime rigent et uarum, et melonum, in ea prouentus maximus sit Abundat ager *gossipio² at linum, et canabem, exteræ gentes inuexerunt Nam domesticos famulos, in Persiam, Parthiam, et Hircaniam legauit, qui orbos parentibus, et 5 pauperes opifices, et colonos | cum ijs facultatibus, quas quisque haberet, etiamsi essent tenues ut sunt oues, onagri, boues, et id genus alia sumptibus municipalium eorum municipiorum, et uicorum per quæ transirent, deducerent Quorum aduentu, F 129a 1 centum millibus | incolarum, ciuitas aucta fuisse ferebatur et multis gregibus, armentisque locupletata ac nouis rebus exornata Caudato pecore, armentis, equisque, Samarcandensis ager *circumfluit et abundat³ Annonæ uero, in urbe, magna erat uilitas Ob quam caussam indigenæ, eam urbem Cimesquint (pinguem uillam) nominant Cimes enim pingue *quint* autem, uillam Tartarice sonat | Genus est arcturum, qui dūmbi, p. est caudati dicuntur ob cauda molent

2 Insigne urbis, et eius imperij, est, leonis effigies, orbe solis inclusa

Ediguy (?) plots against Timūr, Verum, ne a Totamixo, longius abstrahamur Cum Ediguius Xacattæus, Temuri olim militum tribunus, homo audax, et ad facinus conandum natus, et regnandi cupidus, Tartaros, a iunioribus a suo rege, abalienatos accepisset se Temuro inimicum 3 esse, Tartaris significauit | optareque tyranno mortem, exitiumque afferre Quare, si sibi cum copijs præsto essent se Temurum expugnaturum, et contra quosuis hostes, pro ipsis pugnaturum recepit Quod illi, æquo animo, admiserunt Ob quam caussam, et ut eorum gratiam iniret, anteaquam copias traderent, Temuro insidias 4 tetendit quibus detectis, ad Tartaros, re | infecta, transfugit a quibus, peramanter acceptus, Totamixo aduersarius, et hostis, Rex salutatus est At Temurus, cum nec fugientem Ediguium, proditione patefacta, capere potuisset, nec prouocatum, ad certamen trahere solitos dolos adhibere cogitauit Illi itaque, omnium, quæ ad eum diem egisset, se impunitatem dare, renuntiare iussit et suum ex filio nepotem, | 5 si uellet, eius filiæ copulaturum Cui Ediguius, per internuntios "Optime," ait, and evades Timūr's cunning "perspicio, quo ista tua uerba spectent, quippe qui in tuis castris, uiginti annis sum "uersatus ac tuos dolos perspexerim Quare, districtis gladijs tantum, tecum in F 129b 1 "campo amicitiam conciliare mecum ipse statui Desinas ergo, fucatis, et fraude "oblitis uerbis, me magis lacessere, quam pellicere" At uero Totamixus, iniuria Tokhtamish superinductum Regem, et proditorum audaciam non ferens cum Ediguio prælium commisit a quo uictus, in uicem, iuxta Samarcandam, ad Temuri præsidia confugit

1 Later addition.

2 1st gausape

3 1st exuberat

Ediguy
drives his son
from Caffa

1 Filius eius, *ad mare nigrum seu Maotidem paludem Theodosiam, Genuensium urbem, in Cimerio Bosphoro, Tauricæ Chersonesi, positam petijt, quæ nunc Caffa
2 dicitur¹ unde Ediguum lacessebat At Ediguus, | cum Caffam obsidione preme-
ret et agrum uastaret ac ciues obsidionem amplius ferre nequirent cum Tartaro
egerunt, ut clam urbe cederet Qui ciuium flagitationi morem gerens, urbe clam
excessit, et patri, fratribusque ad Samarcandam, se adiunxit in quorum comitatu,
3 ad Temurum uenit At Caffenses, cum Ediguio pacem fecerunt Porro, | impius
Ediguus, Tartaros omnes, qui ad eam diem, ex libito, quod magis arridebat, uiuendi
institutum, quod ad religionem attinebat, sequebantur ad Mahammeddis super-
stitutionem traduxit, ac Tartaria regno contentus, nihil contra Temurum, eius dex-
teritatem, et dolos ueritus, amplius molitus est Porro Tartaria, ijs pulsus regibus,
4 qui genus a Cingiscano | ducebant, multorum deinde tyrannidi exposita est
et Cingiscani posteri, Xacattæ admixti sunt

Ediguy's
zeal for the
Qorân

Timûr born
under a lucky
star

Cæterum, ne a Temuro longius digrediamur eius profecto fortunam (si fas
est, ita loqui) nemo unquam satis mirabitur Nam, eo infortunio excepto, quo
fusus, et uulneratus est fortunæ tergum nunquam uidit ad quam superandam,
forti, excelsoque animo semper fuit nec ab incepto, quin eam periclitaretur, unquam
destitit

Petrus
Mexta

Huius ætate Regnum India, quod nunc Zelaldinus tenet, Christianus rex ad-
F 133a 1 ministrabat Cuius erat regia Delnum Hic in prælium cum Temuro descendit

He defeats
the Christian
King of Delhi

et multitudine ac fortitudine elephantum superior, Temurum primo prælio fudit
verum sequenti die, instaurato exercitu, nihil hesterno incommodo perturbatus,
elephantum virtutem ac robur, camelis palea onustis, elusit Nam ubi elephantum
2 cunctus, aduersus suum exercitum mouit, admoueri | camelos ad elephantes iussit, mox
ignem subijci, cum proxime ad elephantes accesserunt ac cum palea subito con-
fligaret, ignis camelos, in aduersos elephantes, impelleret, illi, qui maxime ignem
exhorrent flamma perterriti, pedem retulerunt et suorum ordines perturbarunt
3 Tum milites, quibus fumus conspectum hostium eripuerat, ab aduersarijs | cæsi,
et profligati terga uerterunt et Rex uictus, et fugatus, in Paharopanum, ex fuga
se recepit Temurus uero, Minoris Indiæ, quæ cis *Indum² amnem, et Paharo-
panum est, partem obtinuit At Minor India quattuor præfecturas olim conti-
nebat Paharopanadas, Arios, Aracosios, et Gedrosios Cum vero Rex Indiæ,
4 redintegratis copijs, bellum repeteret continuit | se Temurus in campo, ut hostem
ad se traheret, qui superiore clade cautior, in montibus restitit et eo modo di-
reempta pugna, Temurus *loca quæ occupauerat³ retinuit ille in montibus, ne se
longius Xacattæ ferrent, præsidia collocauit

Rod Gons

Plinius

Porro Temurus, tot, tantisque victorijs auctus, Serarum regi uectigal, quod
priores Samarcandæ reges pendebant, soluere recusabat illicque bellum illaturus
F 130b 1 fuisset, nisi eum regionum intercapedo prohibuisset Distat enim Cambalecum

His plans
against the
King of the
Seræ,

Serarum metropolis, a Samarcanda, ter mille passuum milibus ac per mille passuum
millia, præter pastorum caulas, et magalia, nullum municipium, aut pagus occurrit

Cambale-
cum et Seres

¹ 1st Caffam, Genuensium urbem, in sinibus Parthia petijt.

² Later addition

³ 1st qui euicerat

Nam octingentorum camelorum turmam, quæ ex Tartaria, Cambalecum iter agebat ut regem prouocaret abripuit |

2 At vero, Serarum regio, nostro sæculo *Cataium¹ dicitur Seræ uero, uel Seres
or Cathay-
ans, a Xlian *Catayni, religione ut fertur plerique Christiani, Judæis, gentilibus, Agarenisque
tribules Quorum rex, qui eo tempore rerum potiebatur quo Societatis Sacerdotes,
cum Zelaldino uersabantur, Emanuel erat nomine³ Olim eius maiores, Caucinsynæ
3 oram maritimam *incolebant⁴ a qua bellis Caucinsyniensium abacti, ad | superio-
rem, et mediterraneam regionem se receperunt Potest uero ad Seras adiri, eo amne
qui ad Caucinsynæ maritimam urbem in mare effunditur Non erit fortasse ab re,
hoc loco admonere, nominis affinitate, illos deceptos fuisse, qui *Cambaia⁵, Cathainos
habitasse, memoriæ prodiderunt Nam genus quoddam hominum, qui mercatura |
4 quæstum faciunt, non *Cambaia⁵ solum, sed Calecutij, et in Indiæ ora maritima uni-
uersa, gentiles quidem Chatini dicuntur et uiles atque abiecti habentur At
*Cathaini,⁶ et sunt, et fuerunt semper Christiani⁷

Cæterum, Temuri ætate, Cambaleci ambitus, quadraginta passuum milibus
patebat Regis uero copiae, myriadem superabant, et terrori Tartaris atque Maiori
1 Asiæ uniuersæ erant || Cum enim Serarum imperator, aciem educebat, quadrin-
gentos mille equites, in præsijs relinquebat sexcentos secum in acie uersari præ-
cipiebat Erat uero uulgus in castris prope infinitum Ferunt quicquid serici, aut
bombycini ex Syna, ad nos comportatur, ex Serarum regione, ad Synos permanare
eosque, sericarum uestium fuisse inuentores

2 Jam uero | Temurus, more maiorum, acies distributas, in castris, quasi in instruc-
tissima urbe habebat in quibus singularum artium artificibus, distinctus locus erat
assignatus Commeatus omnis, et merces, diuersis foris uenalibus proponebantur
Furibus in castris, nullus erat locus, nam si deprehendebantur, illis subula nares,
3 imperatoria lege, perforabantur Ac cum diligentissime | uias, ne cui uis afferretur,
custodiri iuberet omnium rerum abundantia exercitus affluebat Diligenter uero,
tribunorum militum opera, curabat, ne ulli graues tumultus, aut seditio aliqua
excitarentur Bursæ cum esset, post uictum Payazitum, viginti mille taberna-
4 cula, in castris habebat Samarcandæ, | triginta milibus auxit Fano ligneo, in
castris utebatur, commissuris ita connexo, et composito, ut efferri, et mutari facile
posset Vexillis candidis, lenitatem, et clementiam, rubris, cruorem, et cædes, nigris,
excidium portendebat Ne milites castris excederent, diligentissimam operam dabat
Et cum capta Samarcanda in Persiam proficisceretur, et *Jaxartis fluminis oras
5 ponte adiunxisset,⁸ qua | copias traduceret, *annem transuectus,¹⁰ ne patriæ desyderio
Sogdianus, et Xacattæus miles remearet pontem deturbauit Post reditum, eodem
consilio, aliam deiecit, ne mancipijs || iter ad fugam pateret Imperauit uero, ne

1 1st Catayum

2 Later addition cancelled. 'Cytaios' was at first written 'Cytayos'

3 1st. Catayni, qui religione sunt Christiani quorum rex qui eo tempore sceptrum tenebat, quo Societatis Sacer-
dotes, cum Zelaldino uersabantur, Emanuel dicebatur

4 1st tenebant.

5 1st Cambysæ, 2ndly Coimbæ.

6 1st Cathayni

7 This passage from Olim eius maiores (fol. 130b 2) is erased more boldly than the previous one beginning with

"At uero" (ibid)

8 Later addition.

9 1st Jaxarti flumini pontem imposuisset.

10 1st transmisso amne

Cytaios no
minat D An
toninus

Quod nomen
a Scythia de
ductum uide
tur¹

Anno Christi
1,81

Rod Gons

Petrus
Mexia Pius
2^{us}

Rod Gons

Prusa pe-
nes Olympum
montem, By-
thinia urbs,
Asiaticæ im-
perij caput
Long 31
Lat 41 4
Pitol lib 3
cap 1 tab 1
Asia 8

Sabellius,
ibid

Jaxartus
flumen] ab
accolis Chæ-
sel, i.e., ru-
ber, uel ru-
bricatus uo-
catur Ptol¹
lib 6 cap 14
tab 7 Asia
A Scythia
olim Syllis di-
cebatur Plin.
& Solinus
In Caspiu
mare infra
Long 97 Lat
48 8

cymbis, vel ipsi etiam Xacattæi, absque scripta facultate, transucherentur at omni-
 bus qui Samarcandam peterent, ut esset libera, et gratuita transmissio. Ac ne
 Wholesale divorcing 2 uxorum desyderio miles pedem referret cum in Payazitum mouit, se primum iure
 3 iurando obstrinxit, non esse se Samarcandam, ante septennium | rediturum, deinde
 militibus edixit, ut secum suas uxores abducerent sin minus et uxoribus facultatem
 dare ut fide uirorum liberate, cui uellent adhaerescerent (barbarum quidem, et
 At the Vol 4 hominis humanarum ac diuinarum legum contemptoris edictum) Cum Volgam Jansam ibi
 5 annem *traxit Intribus¹ greges, et armenta prope innumera, ut pecora defutura
 3 uiderentur et quamplurimas feminas tradidit At ut equos singuli, singulos¹ Volga olim
 pedites equis efferrent, et transucherent, imperauit *Populi equitumque magis-¹ Itha dicitur
 Jansa general 6 trum Jansam suum ex sorore nepotem, constituit quo adiutore, Samarcanda Paggi¹ Paggi, come
 vim et manus intulit

Ceterum an uirtute magis an acro militari consilio, et techini uoluerit dubium
 4 est Nam dolos plenisque l'oribus adhibebat Hereditarium quidem est, Tartari
 Tartar l'or- et is gentibus, quæ ab eis orta sunt at est gens Peritorum, ut fugiendo, p' cum
 5 mo et p' gentem quem Llanus eleganter describit

F 132b 1 Veram in Christianos¹ eo ferocius sæuebat, quod Græci et Genuenses Payazito
 Cruelty and treachery towards the Christians of Arsingam fauissent in eo bello, quo eum cepit Nam cum Arsingam, eo bello confecto uenis-
 set, Agarenique, Zaretanum urbis, et regionis principem, apud eum accusassent, quod
 plus Christianis, quam sibi tribueret, et quod Christianorum templa, potiora essent

2 quam sua e uestigio Archipresbyterum, nisi fidem | abiuraret (quod uir optimus, et
 religiosissimus constanti animo *recusauit¹) et Christianos omnes necari, et templa
 solo æquari iussit At pro Christianorum capitibus, Zaretani (qui licet Agarenus,
 natura erat mitis, et Christianorum, atque adeo suorum ciuium amans), septem mil-
 libus sestertiorum numeratis, intercessionem admisit at uero quin templa deijceret, |

3 adduci non potuit Alia in urbe, quæ Pagrixum dicitur, ut Agarenis, id postulanti-
 bus, morem gereret, posteaquam pactam pecuniam accepit, qua spoponderat, se
 Christianorum templum non direpturum, tandem excidit funditusque euertit Ea-
 dem animi, in Christianos, offensione, Catay-canī, hoc est, Serarum regis legatos, qui

His plans against the Christian Seræ 4 pendī, a prioribus Samarcandæ regibus, | solitum uectigal, regis sui nomine, reposce-
 bant, suspendio necare meditabatur Erat uero soluendo, si soluere uoluisset

His wealth Nam Cræsi diuitias, facile superasse, creditus est Ex manubijs enim, unius Payaziti
 deuicti, tantum argenti, et auri, eius thesauris accessit ut in ijs, portas aureas

5 haberet aureum item armarium, quo permulti scyphi, pateræ, catini, patinæ | et
 amphoræ aureæ, et argenteæ includebantur in cuius fronte insculpta erat unio,
 nucis iuglandis magnitudine, alhæque minores, emblematis, et cælaturis inclusæ

F. 133a 1 Præterea auream mensam, cui miræ magnitudinis smaragdus, erat *inclusus² Ad
 hæc auream quercum, miræ pulchritudinis Denique, uasa alia quamplurima, ex auro
 argentoque At numeratæ pecuniæ nullus erat modus His omnibus accedit, quod
 ea rupes, è qua adamantes eruuntur, in eius potestate fuit Enimuero thesauros, et

2 ruta cæsa omnia, atque omnem pretiosam supellectilem, castro quodam, | quod a
 reliquo continenti, magno anfractu, disiunctum fabricauerat, illata asseruabat Quo
 item in loco, armamentarium collocauerat ubi mille artifices, arma fabrefaciebant

Atque, ut ad eius priuatam familiam ueniamus plures uxores, Agarenorum pnuata.

His 4 sons more habuit Ex ijs sustulit filios, Janguirum, qui uita functus est, ante patrem

3 Miramxam, Xarocum, et Mahammeddem Sultanum, qui Payazitum | cepit et in
 Grandsons castris interijt Nepotes ex Janguirio Pir Mahammeddem Ex Miramxa Om-
 marem, Abobácarem, et Cárilum His regna gubernanda tradidit Miramxæ

He divides his kingdom Persiam sed ea prouincia, patris imperio, eam ob caussam abdicatus est, quod
 Persepoli,³ et Ec bathanis, præstantia quædam ædificia deiecit, et quod *apud Te-
 murum patrem ab uxore sua⁴ Gánsada, Cárili matre accusatus, in proditionis suspici-

4 onem uenit *Eo progressa est fœminæ ira⁵ Cuius | locum, Hommarus filius eius,
 Temuri aui præcepto subiit At uero Babylonem,⁶ ad Euphratem, et Alepum,⁷

¹ ist detrectauit.

² ist inditus

³ Late-marginal note Pthol lib 6 c 2 tab 5 Asiæ — Ec bathana Tabris Long 88 La' 37 45 — Persepolis Niras Persarum imperij caput olim urbium elegantissima, Curtio Arriano, et Diodoro euthoribus Nostra memoria sedes est Persiæ regum Long 91 Lat 33 20 Pthol lib 6 cap 4 tab Asiæ 5

⁴ ist a Temuri uxore.

⁵ Later addition

⁶ Later marginal note Babylon, nunc Bagdad — Alepum, olim Hierapolis et Callinice dicta est a P'inio Barbycon et a Syris Magog Long 71 10 Lat 36 25 Pthol lib 5 cap 15 tab Asiæ 4. Ad Cyres[iticum?] Syriæ conuentum pertinet ut [1 word illegible]

Damascumque in Syria, Abóbacari ipsius item Miramxæ filio, commisit Xaroco Hircaniam, et Parthiam attribuit Et suorum interuentu, atque oratu Miramxæ tandem ueniam dedit qui ad eius pedes, appensa in collo resti, accidit et sibi præteritam noxam ædificiorum, quæ demolitus erat, dimitti implorauit | Verum, eo erat erga Pir Mahammedem, Janguiri filium amore, ut ei, quicquid Indiæ regi abstulerat attribueret et eum, Indiæ Regem, salutari iuberet Ex sorore nepotes habuit Jansam, quem regiæ cohortis ductorem creauit et Sultan Hammedum, quem satellitij, et præsidij, sui capitis, ducem constituit

Later note
Sultania,
olim Hera-
clea, postea
Plinio et So-
lino Achais
Urbs est
Mediæ long
89 li 36 40
Ptol [therest
cut off by the
binder]

Porro domesticus *famulorum apparatus illi erat amplissimus¹ cui annumerantur 1j cursores, quos antea commemorauimus || gelabdares dici, qui a Tartaris Anch dicuntur Aulæ, et curiæ ministris, iisdem utebatur, quibus Zelaldinus, qui per manus traditam, Temuri consuetudinem, uel in minimis rebus, semper imitari summa ope nititur Principibus quidem uictis, quasi famulis utebatur, quibus alendas bestias, et uolucres tradebat quas statis temporibus, ad se afferrent ex quibus si quid deperibat, miserum hominem, | cui erat creditum, morte plectebat Mitius quidem agit Zelaldinus, qui pecuniam tantum sibi solui, rei perditæ loco iubet Illud crudele, istud sordidum

Dedititij, et uestigalibus, ut *sua insignia,² locis publicis appingerent, nummisque insculperent, imperabat Ea erant, tres circuli, trigoni situ positi, quorum unus duobus subsideret, et inferiorem trianguli cuspidem efficeret | Quibus significari uolebat, se Asiæ, Affricæ, et Europæ dominatorem esse At militaris dignitatis, insigne erat capillorum, ternis ordinibus, implexa fascia quæ ex aureo tuguriolo qui galero, pileo, aut galeæ affigebatur, ad humeros, scapulasque dependebat

Posteaquam a bellis, Temuro datum est otium, ad ædificationem studia, et cogitationes transtulit Et Quexi, in paterna | domo, aulam magnis sumptibus ædificauit Intra viginti dierum spatium, forum uenale latissimum, in medio Samarcandæ, excitatis apothecis, atque domibus additaque fornice, ad solem, et imbres arcendos, adhibitis fenestris, utrinque, quibus locus illustraretur extruxit quod ab extrema una urbis porta, in alteram aduersam recta ferebatur Ædificauit item sepulchrum Samarcandæ | Mahammedi filio, quem ideo Sultanum cognominabat, quod Sultan Parazitum, sua manu prehendisset Quod cum humile iudicasset, et emendari iussisset, intra decem dierum spatium, opus ornatissimum, et amplissimum, artificum *expedita³ celeritate, ac diligentia et instantis, atque urgentis imperatoris, tum metu, tum gratia, qui cibos sua manu subministrabat, absolutum est Fano sepulchri socrus suæ laxissimum etiam ostium, quam breuissime, et accuratissime, magnaue elegantia perfectum, imponi iussit Cárabicum in Persia condidit,* quo ipse cohortes frequenter in hyberna mittere solebat⁴ ædium bene materiatarum, uiginti millibus ornatam

In otio latrunculorum ludo, et spectaculis gladiatorum, et pugilum plurimum

¹ 1st famulatus erat amplissimus

² 1st armorum suorum insignia

³ 1st indefessa

⁴ 1st in eo agro, ubi frequenter hyberna castra habere solebat.

2 tenebatur Conuiuia sæpe agitabat, quibus equorum carnes, assæ, et elixæ | apponebantur¹

Banquets
amidst scenes
of bloodshed

Illud uero, magnam fuisse hominis feritatem commonstrat quod in medijs^{Festas Te}
epulis, homines necari iubebat Nam in filij cuiusdam sui, nuptiarum ludis, ad quos
frequentes, ex Samarcandæ conuentus oppidis, omnium ordinum, homines confluxe-
rant, furcas erigi iussit, ac dixit illis ludis, se meritis munera, sontibus supplicia
3 daturum Quod diligentissime præstitit | et è conuiuio et epulis, magnum præto-
rem suum, laqueo de furca strangulari mandauit Eodem supplicio affecit alium,
qui, illius patrociniū suscepit ac, cum rogatus a Buródo, sua ex sorore nepote,
qui ei erat charus, ut numeratis quadringentis sestertijs, homo dimitteretur ipseque
annuisset, ubi pecuniam accepit, miserum hominem, ad quæstiones, ut si quid pe-
4 cuniarum | esset amplius, extorqueret primum adegit deinde, ubi omnes eius
facultates exhausit verso deorsum capite, et colligatis, in patibulo pedibus, sus-
pendio necauit Cuidam, *commendatos a se,² tres mille equos, cum repeteret, in
promptu non habenti, sex mille tamen, si ad quærendum locus daretur, spondenti
5 quærendi spatium denegauit ac strangulari, infoelicem | hominem iussit iisdem
ludis, in rei frumentariæ, atque annonæ institores, quod care uenderent et in sutores,
quod præscriptum pretium prætergrederentur, animaduertit

Ostentation

F 134b 1 Verum conuiuia tum uel maxime *magnifice ac splendide ornabat,³ cum legatos
excipiebat, quos ut opes || ostentaret, ad se in basilicas, hortos, uillas, et in castra
optime instructa, inuitabat quorum gratia, nummos aureos, et argenteos, ac gem-
mas, laminis inclusas, in plebem spargebat Erat uero illud, Mongolis pergratis-
simum, quod lautissime conuiuari licebat Equinarum enim carniū, amplissima
fercula apponebantur Quem tamen epularum morem, cæteri milites exhorruerunt, | ^{Jouius ibid}

Festive fare
of the Mo-
ghuls

2 qui, cum Parazitæ castra diriperentur, aderant *nam⁴ Mongolos, in pingues equos,
qui passim uagabantur, non secus inuolare uidebant quam in leporem aquila Nec
multum, ab huius consuetudinis feritate, abest illa, qua, si indigent, non horrent equo-
rum sanguine, famem, sitimque depellere Nam fatigati, venam *post⁵ equi aurem
3 aperiunt, et calentem | cruorem hauriunt, et potant

Foreign em-
bassies
De Clauijo

Verum his prætermisiss, ad pauca deueniamus, quæ, de Temuro dicenda restant
Frequens erat, in eius curia, legatorum, et principum virorum, *ex omnium prope
terrarum orbe,⁶ concursus in quibus, ex ultima Hispania, Henrici quarti Castellæ
Regis legati

Penalties
for crime

Cæterum Agarenico more, ius dicebat et gentilitia, a maioribus, accepta con-
4 suetudine, | nobiles strangulari ex patibulo, plebeios, capite plecti (contra quam a
nostratibus factitatur) aut stipitibus affigi, imperabat

Timūr's
extreme old
age

Is uero, ad eam senectutem, uitam tot laboribus exercitam, tot victorijs claram,
perduxit ut supercilijs, in oculos, decidentibus, uix aspiceret et jam decrepitis,
lectica ueheretur Qui senio tandem confectus, Samarcandæ *postea interiit quam
^{Jouius ibid}
^{Temur's}
mors

¹ Later marginal note, erased utpote ab hippophagis edendæ

² ist commendatos sibi ab illo

³ ist actitabat

⁵ ist trans

⁴ ist cum.

⁶ ist ex omni prope orbe

- 5 undecim annis regnavit ¹ cuius | mortem, cometem magnum, crocei coloris, porten- *Anno Do*
disse, ij qui sidera observant, iudicarunt *mini 1405*
- In iuventute, agilis fuit, et levis, pulcher, et optimæ habitudinis ingenio acutus, *P e t r u*
F 135a 1 iudicio, || et mente celeri, at postquam prælijs assuevit facie factus est feroci, oculis *Mexia*
Reflections obductis, semperque minacibus, corpore procero, lato, nervoso, ualentique, ut cum *Jouius*
on his life & arcum tartaricum contenderet, manum post aurem traheret, telo autem, æneum
character mortarium transfigeret Ferebant, qui Temurbegum uiderunt, eum Hannibali fuisse *Pius 2^{us}*
- 2 similem si eius corporis forma, et habitudo, | cum ijs quæ de Pœno scribuntur, *Rod Gons*
componantur Puer solem, lunam, astra, et ignem, Mongolica superstitione, coluit
Juuenis Agarenorum credulitatem complexus est Daruêges coluit, eos potissimum,
qui nudi penitus, et rasi, frigoris, et æstus iniurijs expositi, et uagi, canentes,
et crotala percutientes, stipe uictitabant Fuit uero, humana sapientia et dex-
3 teritate mirabili iustitiam, | et liberalitatem, in suos diligentissime coluit *Dif- *Petrus*
cile fuit, in eo iudicare, agilitatene, atque uirtute, an uero prudentia, et ingenio, *Mexia*
consilioque præstaret ² At vero, tot, ac tam præclara ipsius animi, ornamenta,
* φιλοποσία ³ et insita crudelitas, obscurabant Ac de nimia eius crudelitate, illud *Crudelitas*
memoriæ proditum est, quod non sine stomacho narrari, et audiri potest puero- *Sabellius*
- 4 rum, | ac puellarum agmen, qui palmas præferentes, patriæ excidium deprecaban-
tur a suo equitatu, conculcari, atque obteri imperauisse Atque *ex eadem crudeli-
tatis voragine, ⁴ illa pugnacitas emanauit qua capta Damasco, cum arcis præsidarios,
qui restiterant, facti pœnituisset, et arce, deditioe cederent noluit conditionem admit-
tere maluitque, *ut bellicæ uirtutis, prudentiæ, et ferocitatis suæ specimen daret ⁵ *P e t r u s*
præsidarios armis uictos, quam dedititios, in suam potestatem redigere arcemque, *Mexia*
F 135b 1 castro, uel aggere e regione, ex tabulatis extructo, expugnare quam reseratis foribus *Pius 2^{us}*
triumphans intrare Erat porro dictis, et factis solers, et acutus Egidæ, ad radices *Jouius*
eius montis, ubi resedit arca Noæ, ⁶ fores euerit, quod prædonum esset perfugium et, *Solertia*
ne iterum erigerentur, cauit Cuidam Genuensi obsecranti, ut mitius cum uictis *Rod Gons*
- 2 ageret, turbato aspectu, respondit “Quid? Tune | me hominem esse putas? an
“non potius Dei iram?” Alij roganti, ut Parazitti *calamitatum ⁷ misereretur, grauiter
succensuit “Non in hunc,” inquit, “animaduerto, tanquam in arrogantem, et *Jouius*
“superbum, sed quasi in parcidam, qui, ut imperium occuparet, fratrem suum,
“natu maiorem, peremit” Vt forum Samarcandæ quod supra memorauius ædifica- *Rod Gons*
- 3 ret, | multorum ædes diruit, ac cum a familiaribus quibusdam amicis, ex stemmate
Mahammeddis (qui Saijdij, et Xarifij ad Agarenis appellantur, et magni fiunt)
Temurum damni admonerent, minaciter respondit “Hæc urbs mea est quam mea
“pecunia emi Cuius emptionis syngrafa, et cautiones apud me habeo quas die
4 “crastina proferam, ac, si quid præterea soluendum | iudicabis pro uestro arbitratu
“persoluam” Mirum sane, quoniam eos iusserit, extremo supplicio puniri Inquo

¹ ist interijt² This sentence is erased in the MS.³ ist bibacitas⁴ ist ex eodem crudelitatis fonte⁵ ist ut suæ uirtutis, prudentiæ, et pugnacitatis specimen daret⁶ Later marginal note Ararat Boccatio et Aylono, et terra Ararat in lib Reg a Pthol Gordæi montes, a quibus regio Gordæne, uel Gordæna, quorum montium long 75 lat 39 40 Tab 3 Asiæ⁷ ist miseriarum

enim animo, commonitiones huiusmodi ferebat A suis Temur Cushlan, hoc est, *Jomius*
 ferrum fortunatum ab exteris terrarum orbis terror, exitium, et ruina dicebatur
 At ipse, horribili uoce, se iram Dei iactabat quæ in orbem uenerat, ut in eius |
 5 corruptæ ætatis, improbos homines, aminaduerteret

Troubles after Ti nūr's death Khalil, son of Mirān Shāh, slays Jansa's son, whose 2 brothers flee to Shāhrukha
 Verum enimvero, Temuri mortem, (ubi uulgata est) magni consequuti sunt *Motus post Temuri mor tem*
 1 motus Nam Cárilus Miramxæ filius, Temuri || nepos, Butodum Jansæ filium, qui
 fratrum adiutorio, Temuri auunculi sui ærarium, et thesauros Samarcandæ occupa- *Ex Rod Gens omnia quæ sequuntur*
 uerat comparato quam celeriter exercitu, interemit Quo interempto, duo fratres
 reliqui, ad Xarócum Temuri filium, consobrinum uero suum, qui Helaci in Parthia
 erat, confugerunt Cárilus autem, thesauris, et auro potitus auo primum paren-
 2 tauit | deinde patri cursores legauit, qui, Temurum è vita exisse,* ac Butodum
 thesauri, urbis et imperij inuasorem, se confecisse, nuntiarent ¹ * quapropter opus
 esse ut quam celeriter ueniret ² Erat Cárilus, Gansadæ filius, quæ ³ *virum suum³
 Miramxam, apud ⁴ *socerum suum Temurum,⁴ proditionis insimulauerat Atque
 hæc Samarcandæ gesta sunt

Jansa killed at Karabāgh by Mirzā 'Umar, son of Mirān Shāh
 3 At Carabácæ in Persia, Jansas Butodi | frater, Temuri nepos, et ex intimis
 familiaribus, *Ommaris, ⁵ *Miramxæ filij, ² qui Persiam, pro Temuro auo ³ regebat,
 a consilijs, et rei familiaris administrator seditionem in eius castris concitauit
 et primarium quendam uirum, quem Ommaris libenter adhibebat, occidit Arma-
 mentarium deinde, occupare contendit att men, a militibus est repulsus Tandem
 4 ad Ommaris tabernaculum ut eum interficeret profectus, | pari modo, a satellitio
 reiectus, in suum tabernaculum, se recepit Erat vero in castris, maxima trepidatio
 Rumor enim percrebuerat, Ediguum Tartariæ tyrannum, in castra inuasisse
 at Ommaris, ad cuius tabernaculum, omnes copiæ confluxerant, ignarus quo
 5 moueret, quid consilij caperet, nesciebat Jansæ enim, | quo quasi educatore usus
 erat, auctoritatem, et potentiam reformidabat, ac cum incertus hæreret quidam
 F 136b 1 ex amicis occurrit "Si mihi a te, fiat Jansæ interficiendi potestas, || hi motus,
 atque trepidatio componentur" Cui Ommaris, "Quid igitur cessas? Propera"
 Ille inopinantem occupat, necat, caput præscindit, correptum caput ad Ommarem
 sistit Eius nece, cum Ediguuj, rumor aspersus cessasset seditio, atque tu-
 multus sedatus est

Jansa's head sent to Mirān Shāh at Baghdad
 2 Ommaris, ad Miramxam patrem, Jansæ caput, Babylonem, in Assyriam trans-
 misit et ad matrem, et | fratres scripsit "En" inquit "uobis, hostis mei
 "caput Quoniam auus interijt, ad me venite ut patrem meum, tanquam regem
 "honorifice accipiam, et complectar" Ipse Vianæ, haud procul a Perside, se
 continuit Arroganti eius oratione, offensus Miramxas, Babylone, Vianam uersus,
 castra mouit ac cum rescuisset, filium magnam aciem instruere, ab eo, per
 3 *feciales⁶ quæsiuit, | quid animi haberet? Cui filius "Prouinciā tueri, et ipsius

¹ Ist nuntiarunt et ut ut quam celeriter ueniret, opus esse exponerent Butodum thesauri, urbis et imperij inuasorem, se confecisse narrant.

² Later addition cancelled.

³ Later addition

⁴ Ist patrem

⁵ Later marginal addition, cancelled Ommar Xecus Hic creditus est Temuri filius sed falso Cognomento quidem Xecus, et a Temuro Samarcandæ Rex ^{3us} post fratrem suum Abubacarem, filium Miramxæ Hic uocatus etiam est Balobas. [Cf fol 137b note 1]

⁶ "feciales" in the MS

his proliis amare." Quo responso, Abobacaris mater, qui cum patre erat, errantibus, et a patre eius intendendi facultatem petijt. Abierunt Miramas, et Harsa mater, ne Xacatai inique ferrent, et non aliquid conarentur. Scripsit enim, ad eam, Harsa mater, ne bellum cum patre susceperet, quin potius, regno concederet. Rescripsit matri Ommaris, se libenter parere. Ob quam causam, Abobacarem, ut pax firmaretur, miserunt. Ille fratrem coniunxit. Eobatharis in aram misit, et castra in partem movit, cum quo, per intermedium, exposculanti matri, quod frater ille, fratrem cepisset: rogantique, ne eum necaret. Respondit, se fratrem, et in vincula coniecisse, quod esset matre captus, auarum, et temerarius. At persequitur erat, fratrem et comprehensisse, quod esset robustus, ac fortis, et Xacatais gratias, et ut paxi esset auctor. Quod, ut decideret Miramas, et Salaman Hahum, Harsa mater, ad Rixas concurrentem, in Median se recepit, ubi tandem restitit, quod opus antea Samarandam iter est aggressus: quem subsequi, cum suis opus, Ommaris instituit. Verum, cum ab exploratoribus intellegisset, Amiram, et opus suum exercitum, quam se patrem habere: subactis, a Xacatai pater, paxa ille petijt: ut si diutius essent, regnum perderetur. Hinc Xacatai, Hahad, qui erat Miramas, exercitum duxit. Quod, ubi Miramas restitit, in partem se coniecit: atque imperator Ommaris, ne in odium Xacatai veniret, in aliquo spargebat, se cum patre pacem coniecisse.

Cum hac ageretur, Sorsus Hircanorum Rex Christianus, et Xacatai Rex inermis bellis, constantem paxem, in Armeniam, Amianamque in limite Armenia, atque in Persiam exivit: agros rursus, et opus quamplurima dirigit, exussit, alio agerem. In quem Ommaris legem Xacatai misit. Quibus Ommarem Tatem, tatemque militem, Hyrcanum duxem, et eorum pugna assistentem, paxem. Qui castra, in Hyrcania coniecit. Quod ubi Sorsus cognovit, noctu Xacatai inermis aditus, partem suam, partem in fugam coniecit. Qui cum iniquitate ferrent, se a Calandis hoc enim nomine, Agareni Christianos appellant, esse superant, accepit informationem Ommari misit: et Tatem fortunam, quem accepisse dicebant.

Abobacaris, qui Eobatharis, in custodia detinebatur, carceris custodem interfecit, aram expulit, et ad patrem coniunxit. Cuius fuga Ommari remissa est, Hircanum, infero belli, et animi redempti, ut Abobacarem, tatem intericeret. Qui ubi audivit, tatem accepisse, intra milium manum misit, que fugientem caperet. At Abobacaris, ut primum, ad patrem venit, accepit ab eo exercitu, quo hic ageretur: Xacatai pater, Hahad, exercitum cepit, atque ad patrem perduxit. Abobacari vero, paxa tatem, et plerique Xacatai ager animi adhaerent. Quibus stigmas, Miramas pater, Samarandam deduxit: ubi pro Tatem pater sui, regnavit. Ommaris vero, cum pater, pacem composuit, et eius permissu, Tatem coniecit: ubi aut suo jura scribit.

I have deciphered this MS. by the following corrected marginal note on a later date:—

Tatem pater—[sic] coniecit in Tatem, Hahad, sed Hahad, coniecit quidem Tatem et Hahad, quem facit Hahad Hahad agerem composuit. Nam cum Calandis, quod genus Agarenum est, qui ostent peragrande semper duxit, bellum tatem, ubi non Christianis Agareni agerem. Qui coniecit ab Calandis et Tatem se adhaerentem Tatem agerem composuit. Qui ubi se coniecit agerem agerem, qui facit peragrande agerem agerem.

Little is known of Pir Muhammad, At tanquam imperator, facile Pir Mahammedem, qui rex Indiæ ferebatur, Miramxæ cecidisse, credendum est nam et ueteres historici de Piro protinus conticescunt, et unam tantum regum seriem, qui Sogdianæ | Bactræ, Paropanis, et Indiæ, fuerint dominati ad Zelaldinum deducunt

& Timūr's line Descendants 1 Mirān Shāh, Jamuero, hæc ciuilia, et intestina Temuri filiorum, et nepotum bella in caussa fuere, ut nostrates historici, Temuri filios, socordia, amisisse, quæ pater, uirtute parauerat et nullam, fortissimi viri, posteritatem superesse propter locorum distantiam, Temuricarum | rerum ignari, scriberent At eius posteritas, sic habet

2 Abā Bakr, 3 'Umar Shākh, 4 Khān Mirzā, Miramxæ, Abobacar's eius filius, qui etiam Abussaus dicebatur, successit Huic Ommarxecus Post hunc Canmirsas regnauit post eum Baburxas, cuius filius fuit Emaumus Rex, qui Zelaldinum regem, ac Mirsachimum procreauit Retinuerunt 5 Bābar, 6 Humāyūn 7 Akbar vero, a patre parta, in Media, et Minore Asia, | ad Hossenassani regis, tempora, in quæ Baburxæ regnum incidit Nam Hossen Assanus, Persiam, Parthiam, Adiabensem, et Susianam Xacattæis ademit

Petrus Mex
ta ex Bab
ista Egnatu

Enimuero Zelaldinus, et tradita tueri, et erepta recipere, et noua quærere, non destitit quo fit || ut cum Abdullacano, graue ob Samarcandæum regnum bellum gerat Nam cum Cancanus, qui hero suo Baburxæ, in Indiam, ut diximus, profecto, imperium Sogdianæ eripuit, male partum regnum, breui moriens Babusultano filio suo tradidisset hic vero Bosacoræ Abdullacanus, Osbeqsultani regis filius, et Balci Rex, Bosacoram interfecit, et Samarcandæum regnum, quod iure Zelaldino | cedit sibi iudicauit * Qui quidem Balci rex exercitum in expeditionem educit, equitum sagittariorum trecentorum millium ¹ Cum quo semel, parum fauste, Zelaldini prima acies, in Paharopanis, ad Chabulum, confluxit Nam uiginti hominum milia, desyderata sunt quo fit, ut etiam nunc bellum uigeat, dubium ad quem inclinet uictoria 3 Abdullacanus * Amurathes, ² Turcarum regis partes, | * dum uixit, sequutus est, ³ et Persico regi * fuit ⁴ infestus At Zelaldinus, Persarum factionem * defendit, ⁵ et eorum Regi * fauit ⁶ quo factum est, ut universa pene Agarenorum Respublica in duas factiones abierit Faxit utinam Deus, ut eius oraculi, quod tot sæculis ante Christus eius Filius prænuntiavit, prædictionem, cum suo magno malo, nisi ad fidem transeant,

Shi'ahs & Sunnis

posse confideret, ex insidijs uenientem regem a uenatione inuasit, peremit, urbem atque adeo regnum omne sub suum atque adeo Agarenorum iugum misit Hunc regem filium fuisse aiunt eius qui cum Temuro dimicauit [At uero non adeo compertum exploratumque dum [part of a word not read] est, quin magis uerisimile uideri debeat his dolis Pir Mahammedem Delium usque atque adeo Indiæ regnum abripuisse qui Rex Indiæ a Temuro auctore suo fuerat creatus Præterea Omar Xecus Abubacar(em) fratr(em) suum) cepisse existimatur (Nam) cum patre pacem composuit et eius permissu Vianæ constitit, ubi auctore suo iusta soluit, et tandem in ea urbe resedit dum Miramxa pater et Abubacar's frater uixerunt At uero Pir Mahammedes, Indiæ Rex, suo regno contentus, patruo suo minime obstitit quominus libere suarum rerum potiretur Ad quem Xacattæi et Mongoli socij, illorum quæ commemorauimus pertasi, confluerunt.] Quoniam in Mediterranea India, procul a nostrorum hominum tum uicinitate tum etiam cognitione defuncta sunt, nostrates historici de Pir Mahammede protinus conticescunt. At reliquos Temuri filios socordia amisisse quæ pater uirtute parauerat et nullam fortissimi uiri posteritatem superesse [I have cut off but the sentence should be continued as above in the text, f 137b 3 The passages within [] are erased in the MS those within () have been restored. In the text above, Nam ueteres historici (f 137b 2) up to Enimuero Zelaldinus et tradita tueri (f 137b 5) is cancelled in the MS

More probably, Pir Muhammad reigned at Delhi.

¹ 1st habet vero in nominibus equitum sagittariorum trecenta milia

² 1st Amurathes, heri mei

³ 1st sequitur—Since 'Abdullah Khān died on the 5th Rajab A H 1005 i.e., the 12th February, A D 1597, Monserrate must have corrected the passage above in India, between 1597 and 1600 the year of his death

⁴ 1st est

⁵ 1st tuetur

⁶ 1st fauet

4 et totius Ecclesiæ, ac | Christianorum pace, persentiant * Illud est "Omne reg-
 " num in se ipsum diuisum desolabitur et domus supra domum cadet " ¹

Luc 11

Origin of the
Scythians.

Enimvero quando Zelaldinus, ex Scythia oriundus est, non ab re uidebitur,
 Scytharum originem, quam breuissime ² ad huius operis calcem ³ adnectere Est
 autem eorum origo antiquissima Nam Scytharum parentes, fuisse feruntur
 Magogus filius Japeti, Hasarmotus, Diclās, et Sebas, Jectani filij, qui frater fuit |

5 Phalegi, ex genere Sem, filij Noë Cui genti, ipsa consuetudo, sub pellibus habitandi, Gen 10
 nomen dedit Scythæque, eius gentis homines, jam inde, a priscorum memoria,
 F 138b 1 *id est coriarij, dicti sunt ⁴ Eos tamen, finitimi Persæ || Aramæos dicebant quod lib 2°
 eos ab Aramo, cognato suorum progenitorum, ortos esse crederent

Justinus

Plinius,
Nat Hist lib
6 cap 13

Ab ipsis, * Asiæ ⁵ regio latissima, Scythiæ nomen accepit, quæ partim Europæa
 est, partim Asiatica

European

Europæam, ab Hasarmotho, Sarmatiam dici, nonnulli credunt eius vero Strabo de
 habitatores, Sarmatas vicinitate literarum fortasse ducti Quidam uero, tantum Scythi Geog
 lib 2°

Plinius ibid

2 ijs litteris tribuunt, quas Græci | * χαρακτηριστικας ⁶ dicunt, ut ex ijs multarum uocum origi-
 nem, perperam quidem, ut plurimum, uenientur

& Asiatic fa-
milies

Asiatica, in duas potissimum diuisa est Sericam scilicet, et Tartariam, vel alio
 nomine, Mongoliam Illa ultra, hæc cis Imaum

Trans-Hi-
malayan

Et Sericam primus incoluisse fertur, Sebas, et author, et parens fuisse, earum
 3 gentium, quæ ultra Imaum habitant ⁷ Quorum primi noscuntur | Seres, lanicio
 sylvarum nobiles, qui perfusam aqua frondium canitiem, depectunt, ut quidam
 ex ueteribus scriptum reliquit Verum, bombycinam esse, eam materiam, non autem

Plin lib 6
cap 13¹ Later addition² Erased³ Later addition⁴ The margins are covered with the following cancelled note written in a very crabbed hand at a later date —

Cum in Zelaldini aula uerarer ab ipsis liberis Selimo et Amurate, quorum alterum ipse instituebam, et
 ab aliquot eorum institutoribus qui Temuri res gestas iussu Regis filijs perlegebant Temurici generis atque adeo regum
 qui Sogdianæ, Bactrianæ, Paharopaniso et Indræ fuerant dominati ad Zelaldinum usque unam tantum seriem accepi,
 quæ sic habet Temurus, familie parent Miramxas Abubacaris, qui etiam Abusaius, Ommarxecus, Canmirsas, Baburus

1's conflict-
ing genealo-
gies

A Timur
nama omits
Nos 1 & 4,
interis Nos 2
& 3 & ignores
Timur's
other descend-
ants Doubt
ful if Pir M
or Umar Sh
was at Delhi
Shahr u h
pardoned by
Miran Sh
recovers Uz-
beg's domi-
mons
The Otman
Turks have
kings from
Balkh

Xa, Emaumus, Zelaldinus In uria uero eius qui Persice Temurnama, i.e., Temuri uim librum conscripsit, alia stirpis
 huius ac gentilitatis progressio in lucem prodijt Ea est Temurus Hommarxecus, vel Balobas, Abusaius uel
 Abubacar, Baburus, Emaumus, Zelaldinus, in qua Miramxas, pater Balobi et Abusai, quos præpostere nominat, et
 Canmirsas desiderantur tum præterea Delini tantum regnasse Temuri genus perperam scribitur Nam Minorem
 Asiæ, et Mediam Sogdianam et Bactrianam ad Hossenassani tempora, in quæ Baburi Xa regnum incidit, retinuerunt
 Nam Hossenassanus Persiam, Parthiam Adiabensem, Susianam Xacattæis ademit Cæterum, De ini regnum, ipsum
 que Indiæ, post eius mortem, qui Christianos euegit, siue is Pir Mahammeddes siue Ommarxecus fuerit, pacificum et
 tranquillum Xacattæi minime retinuerunt, quibus tamen Indoscythæ et Paharopanisdæ semper libenti animo quasi
 eiusdem gentilitatis principibus paruerunt Jamuero Mirsa Xarocco, qui Abubacarem comprehend[erat], Miramxas
 noxam condonauit et Hircaniam [ist Parthiam] attribuit et Parthiæ parte n quæ Caspo Mari ab occidente, Margianæ,
 Hircaniam? et Sogdianæ ab austro et a solis ortu internacet ad Iaxartem usque ultra citraque flumen, quam regionem
 Cinguiscanus olim Osbequio tradiderat, quamque eius nepotibus Temuruegus eripuit, ex quorum stirpe Ottomanoës
 familiam prodijisse Furcæ aiunt, ac si stirps suorum regum defic[er]et regem ex ea regum gentilitate qui Balci regnant
 esse petendum Nam eius præfecturæ ciuitates sunt Balcum metropolis, Hiurgha, Badaxā, Tamxquan[d] Quam
 ob causam Osbequiam Turcomaniam vocant Est autem Hircanis uicina et prope continua Erat uero Miramxas
 natura leuis et ad ignoscendum procliuus, contra quam Temurus eius pater [1 line seems to have been cut off from the
 lower margin]

⁵ Later addition⁶ Read χαρακτηριστικας

⁷ The above passage from Ab ipsis, Asiæ regio (fol 138b 1) was modified later by Monserrate to the fol-
 lowing Ab ipsis Asiæ regio latissima Scythiæ nomen accepit, quæ ita bipartita est, ut Imaus mons inter utramque
 cythiam intersit Sarmatia item aliquot sæculis post ab iisdem Europææ Scythiæ appellationem inuenit Ultra
 Scythiam trans Imaum est Serica [The rest is cancelled]—We have preferred to keep the original draft.

arboream (qualis ea est, quæ in tractu Tarraconensi, non procul a Cæsaraugusta legitur, ex quâ tenuissima tela textitur, qua farina expurgatur) hoc nostro sæculo compertum est

- 4 At vero Tartariam | Diclas, et Magogus, incoluisse feruntur Atque a Magogo, & Cis-Himā- Mongolos vir quidam, religione, atque eruditione præstans, qui apud illos, Cinguis- D An-
layan stocks canī ætate, Innocentiū quarti Pontificis Max legatione functus est dici existi- ninus 3 p
mauit et illos, Ezechielis uaticinio, significari arbitratus est titulus 19
cap 2 § 20
Ezech 38
et 39
Apocal 20
- Branches of both Scythis cis Imaum, Dahæ olim, et Daci annumerabantur illis uero, qui ultra |
- 5 Imaum degunt Sacæ (quorum nomine, Persæ, Scythas etiam omnes appellabant) et Messagetæ Dahis adscribuntur, Aparimi, qui Hyrcanis, et eorum mari, proxime adjacent tum Xanthij, deinde Pissûri Strabo de Scythia lib 11 Geograph
- F 139a 1 Omnem uero Scythiam antiquitus || promiscue peruagabantur, Essedones, qui caluarijs suorum parentum, auro cinctis, pro poculis utebantur et Ariaci, et Rhim- Pius 2^{us}
The Essed- ones, Ariacæ, Rhym mīci, postremo Appéllei, quorum et genus, et nomen, uetustas, ut alia pleraque Appellæi
* deleuit

Sunt uero Scythæ omnes, uarias appellationes, ex suis studijs et uitæ ratione

- 2 sortiti Dicuntur enim, tum Nomades, tum Scenitæ, deinde Trogloditæ, | et Amax- Strabo Geogr lib 7
de Scythia
- N cknames for the Scythians obij, Galactophagi, Hippophagi, Equimulgi, Galactæi, et Abij, hoc est agrestes, et feri, atque ab hominum consuetudine remoti Quibus nominibus, etiam nunc, a finitimis cognominatur Dicuntur enim, Aymachij, eo quod errabundi, res suas circumferant Carganixtæ, quod sub tabernaculis degant et Xeroqhoræ, quod lacte uictitent

- Their fame for bravery Fuerunt Scythæ *tum illi qui in Europam, penetrarunt, tum etiam Asiani, a quibus illi orti sunt, in omnium | superioris ætatis hominum, non secus atque nostra memoria, bellica laude clari

- in Europe Nam, ut ab Europæis ordiamur, Sarmatæ, maximam Tauricæ Chersonesi, Europæi Tartari
partem, armis obtinuerunt Cui nomen parua Scythia [sic] indiderunt Cuius incolæ, Diodorus Siculus Re-
rum Antiquarum lib 5
4 Scythotauri dicti sunt quos memoriæ proditum est, aduenas | Dianæ, pro * hostijs, cap 3
immaniter cædere consueuisse Asiatici Tartari

- & Asia At Asiani Dahæ, Bactrianum, et Parthicum imperium condidere quod Romanos haud mediocriter lacerari Nam Arsaces, homo Scythæ Callinici Demetrii, poten- Justinus, lib 1
The Dahæ tiam cum Dahorum [sic], exigua manu declinans, ad Parthos, sui generis homines Sabellius, Ennead 6
Arsaces & qui olim, seditione domo pulsus, quasi exules (quod nomen ipsum sonat) paruam eam- que montosam regionem colebant se recepit Atque ijs qui forte obstiterunt super-

- F 139b 1 atis cæteros || ad suum imperium adduxit a quo Arsacidarum genus, originem habuit Cuius stirpis fuere, Arsaces eius filius Pámpatus Phárnaces Mithridates Diodorus Siculus, Re-
rum Antiquarum lib 3
his descend- ants et alij ad Phraartem usque, qui rebus, cum Romanis, compositis liberos suos, Cæsari Augusto credidit et nepotes, obsides dedit Cap 11

- 2 Sacæ autem, et Messagetæ, qui a regibus, more patriæ, nomen acceperunt | ex The Sacæ & Messagetæ prouincijs, a se bello subactis, in alias præfecturas, colonias deduxerunt alteram

1 1st aboleuit. 2 1st cum Europæi, tum etiam Asiani

3 Not having Diodorus Siculus at hand I cannot decide whether the word is derived from "hostia" or "ostium," which Monserrate writes everywhere "hostium" and changes to "ostium" in one place only, as far as I remember

2 uirtutem quantum in nobis | situm fuit, et narrationis breuitas, ac perspicuitas postulabat diligenter, et acurate (quod sine arrogantia dictum sit) perscripsimus nostrum pensum (utinam utiliter) exoluisse videmur ¹

FINIS

LAUS DEO OPT MAX

History of
the MS

* Absoluti hunc commentarium Eynan in Arabia ferijs diui Antonij Patauni mense Junio anni 1590

Exemplar a Turcis abreptum Sénæ recepi ferijs undecim mille Virginum mense Octobri eiusdem anni

Finem describendi et ab exemplaris litturis uindicandi feci Sénæ in Arabia ferijs D Damasi pp mense Decembri anni 1590 ²

¹ Later addition, marginally *Daqui torna atras aos folhas 105 b 4*

² These last lines have been underlined in pencil by the anonymous annotator

INDEX COMMENTARIJ

in quo *a* priorem paginam, *b* posteriorem significat ¹

A

Abdulfasilius luculentissime diuinam generationem ex Sacerdotum disciplina explanat 35*a* 3, eius nominis interpretatio, 34*b* 1, Regis Jonathan *ibid* Regis personam agit, 57*a* 4, Sacerdotum sententiam semper sequebatur, 33*a* 1
 Abdulla-canus, 138*a* 1, eius copiae, *a* 2
 Aben allah, Dei filius, 99*a* 4
 Abobacaris, 136*b* 4, in carcerem truditur, *ibid* , e custodia erumpit, 137*a* 5
 Acaris mons, 88*b* 3
 Adamus, 98*b* 5
 Addiscentem diuina quæ oporteat primum secum agere, 28*a* 3
 Adiebene, Dierbeca, 127*a* 3
 Adris, Raci fluuius, 61*b* 4, Lahorum alluit, 90*a* 4
 Ægidius Joannides, Gangaridis Archimvstes, 5*b* 4, discrimini se obijcit, 21*a* 3, Sacerdotes certiores reddit, 20*b* 1
 Ægyptus, Hebræis Misre, et eius Rex, 127*a* 4
 Ærario custodes dantur, 45*b* 4
 Æthiopes, 121*a* 3
 Affricana clades, 87*b* 4
 Agaræ abundantia et celebritas, 23*a* 3, descriptio arcis, 23*a* 1, dæmon malus concursat, 23*b* 2 3, præfectus, 47*a* 1, Zelaldinus nascitur, et rex primum salutatur, 22*b* 4
 Agarenorum administrandæ reipublicæ modus, 119*a* 1, Christiano nomini Agarenæ semper infensi, 102*a* 2, Christianos facile necant, *a* 3, deierantibus cur non sit credendum, 95*b* 2, domum Sacerdotum uentitant, 37*a* 2, gentium simulachra deiciunt, 19*a* 4, Jesu Christi et Virginis Mariæ effigies uenerantur, 9*b* 1, in India Christianum nomen proisus obliterarunt, 17*b* 4, Neomænas obseruant, 9*a* 3, nouendi-

ales ferias agunt, 16*b* 3, nebulones pro diuis colunt, 19*b* 1, odio habent Christianos, 132*b* 1 3, opinio eorum falsa de uita functis, 14*b* 1, phana gentium deiciunt, 54*a* 1, prophana sacra permittunt, 19*b* 1, prouocant ad prodigia, 25*b* 4, 26*a* 1, Respublica eorum diuisa, 138*a* 1, a Sacerdotibus Dei auxilio semper in disputationibus superati, 32*b* 2, sacrificiorum ferias celebrant, 11*a* 4, similes sunt Christianorum, 55*b* 2, temporum rationem non habent, 82*a* 4
 Agiscocas, Regis collactaneus, 24*a* 3
 Ahalis, 81*b* 3, eius fabula, *b* 4, phanum, 88*a* 4, Vahallah et eius fabula, 92*a* 4, *b* 4
 Ahicanus, Samarcandæ imperator, 123*a* 4
 Alangogasia, Cappadociæ urbs, 127*b* 1
 Alara, urbs Armeniæ, 125*b* 2 4
 Albacarâ, *ice* , uacca, 74*a* 3, 98*a* 4
 Albania, ultra Caspium mare, 124*b* 4
 Alexander Macedo, 115*b* 3, 119*a* 2, eius ætate Samarcanda extabat, 128*a* 5
 Alinga, castrum, 124*b* 3, eius dynasta, *b* 4, 125*b* 1
 Alphonsus Pachecus, Hispanus, cum Rodolfo necatur, 106*b* 3
 Alphonsus, puer genere Brachmana, cum Rodolfo item necatur, 106*b* 3
 Alphurcanum, 75*a* 4, locorum concursatio, 98*b* 3, locus mendax, 98*b* 2 4
 Amazones, 83*a* 1 3
 Ambala, fluuius, 57*b* 4
 Amita Zelaldini, 111*b* 1
 Anagogia sordida, 36*b* 4
 *Andreæ Spoletani, Ordinis Minorum de D Francisci, cædes, 21*b* 2 ²
 Angertum, præsidium, 102*b* 1
 Angur, castrum, 125*b* 5, 126*b* 5

¹ The pages of the index not being numbered in the original, we have not taken the pagination of it into account.

² Erased.

Antecursores, 47^a 4
 Antichristus, *dyal uel datal*, 74^b 4
 Antitaurus, mons, 127^a 1
 Antonius Francisci, Lusitanus, cum Rodolfo perimitur, 106^b 3
 Antonius Noronius, Indiæ pro Rege præses, 5^a 2
 Antonius Cabralius ad Equebarem legatus, 5^a 3
 Annumanti sinij phauum, 54^a 4, eius fabula, *b* 2
 Apatum, 138^b 5
 Apophthegma Cinguisani, 120^a 4
 Apo toli duodecim, 89^b 3
 Appellei, 139ⁱ 1
 Aramus, filius Sem, 138^b 1
 Arca Noe, 78^b 2
 Archipresbyter Arsingensis constantia, 138^b 2
 Archisynagogi filia a Christo suscitatur, 28^b 3
 Arctusius, fluuius, 119ⁱ 3
 Argentarii faciendæ a solo rege publicæ utilitates, 113^a 1
 Argumenta disputationum cum Agarum, 32^a 4, *b* 1
 Arguncius Bagecani filius, 122ⁱ 4
 Argum Mongoli Synthum tenent, 121^b 4
 Arici, 19^a 1
 Arictes caudati, 129^a 1
 Armenia Maior, 119^b 4
 Armeni et Hyrcani Palestinam petunt, 122^b 2
 Armeni Regis filia impendio Christina, 122^b 4, prodigio liberatur, 122^a 1
 Arsaces 139ⁱ 4
 Arscida ad Phirtem, 139^b 1
 Arsinga, urbs, 124^b 4, diripitur, 125^b 4, templi excinduntur, 132^b 2
 Asia Minor, Nitolia, Furquia, uel Turcia, 127^a 3, Scythiæ uestigii, 140^a 2
 Asianorum Aquilonarium forma, 107^a 1, pugnandi consuetudo, 131^b 4
 Assinossen, Rex Persiæ, 137^b 5
 Atac balanaz, Nil ibi præsidium, 68^b 2
 Athenienses, 53^a 1
 Auazi iugum, 102^b 2, prædones, *ibid*, montis descriptio, 11^b 1, reguli tres, *b* 2
 Auazus, princeps eius tractus ciuitas, 12^a 2, descriptio, *ibid*
 Audienda diuina cum demissione, 25^a 2
 Aufgani, qui? 139^b 4, eorum cantus, 85^a 2 3
 Aulæ Equebarum assidui, 112^a 2, ianitores, 114^b 4
 Aetnagar amnis, Suastus fluuius, 69^a 2

Azarâ, municipium, 68^b 2
 Azimurum, 21^b 1, 82^a 3

B

Barlanum iugum, 84^b 3
 Babacapurius, Bacchanilium restitutor, 18^a 1 pro diuo colitur, *b* 2, sententia eius de beatitudine, *a* 2, Zelaldinus huic addictus, *b* 3
 Biburus, Rex, Zelaldini auus, 117^a 4, Samarcondia imperium amittit, *b* 1
 Babusultanus, 138^a 1
 Babylonia, Hebræis Babel uulgo Bagdad ad Euphratem, 122^b 3, 125^a 5, *b* 1
 Babyloniæ rex, 122^b 2, 125^b 1
 Baceon, 120^a 1
 Bactræ, 97^a 4
 Bactriana 117^a 3, 139ⁱ 4
 Badum, oppidum 57^a 2, Xamansuri suspendium, *ibid*
 Bagdad, ad Euphratem, 122^b 3
 Bagecanus, 122^a 3
 Bagoindas regulus, 89^a 3 97^a 1
 Balcum, oppidum, 117^a 3, 138^a 1 2
 Balnatus, sceleris author et eius instituta, 64^a 4, dicitur adhuc uiuere, 65^a 2, malus dæmon existimatur, 65^b 1
 Balnatcorum uestis 64^b 2 Balnatæ peccantes dimittuntur e sodalitiis, 64^b 3, antistitis eorum insignis, *b* 4, eorum ordines duo, 65^a 4, cælibes eorum uenefici *b* 1
 Baluatinus mons, Baluatque thule, 63^a 3, 64^a 3
 Baluato, fasciæ in arboribus appenduntur, 65^b 1
 Balochorum pugna, 48^b 2
 Balsaris, præsidium Mongolorum, 7^b 4
 Bamonque 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢, Brachmanarum oppidum [3^a]
 Bangue, herba soporifera, 116^a 2
 D Barptolomæus 84^a 1, 115^b 3
 Basilipolis, 11^a 4
 Basilipolis Laturina, 59^b 2
 Basiliscus, 15^b 2, 16^a 3
 Batto 120^b 4, ad aquilonem tendit, 121^a 2, mergitur et perit, *ibid*
 Baydo inus, 122^b 1
 Bayothnoyus, 119^b 4
 Beara, oppidum 102^b 3
 Becdaulat mons, 83^b 1, 3
 Belia, mons Scythiæ 119^a 12
 Bello parta quomodo donentur, 51^b 3
 Bellorum seminarium, 92^b 3

Beox palang, insanus leo, arx, 84a 2
 D Bernardi accurata diligentia, 25a 3
 Bethsabe, uxor Vriæ 98a 3
 Beyramcanus, Persa, 117b 4, Mirsachimo regnum defert, 118a 1, proterua eius, a 2, a Zelaldino capitur, *ibid*
 Bibasis, fluuius, uulgo Beâ, 601 1, idem Hipanis, Macedonicæ expeditionis terminus, 60b 1
 Biliballus, regulus, 6a 3, Regis primus cubicularius, *ibid*
 Birbitcremas, fabrilium artium inuentor habetur, 14b 3, ut Deus colitur, *ibid*
 Bissaur, oppidum, 83b 1
 D Blasius, 125a 3
 Boccora, 117a 3, 120b 4
 Bombycin, et serici inuentores, 131a 1, materia, 138b 3
 Bossâqhoras, rex, 138a 1
 Both & Bothant, 60b 3, Casiri existimantur, 61b 3
 Brachmanæ, Bamon uel Baman, 104a 1, eorum ædificia, 118b 3, gubernandi ratio, 119a 1
 Bramas, 57b 3
 Bubo Mongolis est honoris, 120a 3
 Bursa, urbs, 131a 3
 Butsar, caput simulachri, oppidum, 931 3
 Bydaspes, fluuius Behet, 62b 3, Lahurini regni limes, 63a 2
 Bythima 127a 1

C

Cærulea bos, Nilagau, Lus[itanice] Meru, 44b 3
 Cafia, Genuensium colonia, 129b 1, Edigius eam obsidet, b 2
 Caibar, Capissa urbs, 82b 3, 88a 1
 Caibari gatt, Capissenus saltus, 81a 2, 88a 1, fauces, 85b 3
 Calanurum ciuitas, 116, magna urbs, 60a 4
 Calicheanus, 70a 4
 Cambalecum, Serarum metropolis, 130b 1, eius ambitus, b 4
 Cambysia, urbs, uulgo Cambaia 130b 3
 Camelorum pugnacitas, 79b 3
 Capissa, urbs, Caibar, 82b 3, 88a 1
 Capissenus saltus Caibari, 81a 2 88a 1
 Cappadocia, 124b 4
 Carauaca, a Temuro condita, 134a 1
 Carnâr, oppidum 57a 1
 Cas, uel Casp mons, 63a 3
 Casmiria, eadem Caspiria, 89a 2, 102a 1

Caspiriæ montana, 63b 4, tyrannus, 89a 3, rupes, b 1
 Caspirij olim, nunc Casimirini, 67a 4 nunc Agarem, 63b 4, olim Judæi, b 1
 Caspium mare, 121b 2
 Caspus, idem Imaus, 85b 2
 Cassancanus, Arguncani filius, 122b 1, Syriam debellat, Hierosolymam obtinet, b 3, ad Christianos principes scribit, *ibid*, ostento Christianus efficitur b 4, 123a 1
 Cassouassi, anatum campus, 127a 1
 Castitas fucata, 18b 1
 Castrametandi modus, 43b 1 2
 Castrorum iter agendi modus, 45a 3
 Cathaini, Seræ uel Seres, 130b 2
 Cathaïum, olim Serica, 130b 2
 Catharina Austriaca, Lusitanæ regina, 27b 3
 Caucasius mons, 85b 2
 Caucinsyna, 130b 2
 Cayrum, Memphis Massâr, 127a 4
 Cenduanum, 11b 1
 Ceynandum, 58b 5
 Chabuli regio, 84a 1, populares, 85a 2, descriptio, b 1, frequentia, b 2, situs, *ibid*, olim Carura, b 3, posteriorum Temuri regni solum, b 4
 Chabulum, 76b 4, 77a 2, parum fœliciter ibi pugnatur, 78b 3
 Charcas, 120b 3
 Christiani Chabuli olim habitauerunt, 84a 1, eorum reliquæ in Imao, 116b 2, Temuri ætate erant in India, 129b 5
 Christiani Goalerum olim incoluerunt, 17b 3
 Christiani Reges Delni sedent, 25a 1, 55a 3 4, 56a 2
 Christianitatis nullum uestigium in India interiori, 116a 4
 Christianum nomen Agarem in India oblitterarunt, 17b 4
 Christus, cur tibicines eiecerit, 28b 3, sedet ad dexteram Patris, 68a 1, eius imitatio, 72a 2, Verbum Patris, 99a 4
 Cicaltaius, 122a 3
 Cimesquint, pinguis uilla, 129a 1
 Cingarous, fluuius, 61b 4
 Cingiscanus, 40b 2, 138b 4, apophthegma eius, 1201 4, copias distribuit, 119b 2, Darganxum condit, 120b 1, disciplinæ militaris ipsius, 40b 2 exercitum tripartitum educit, 119b 4, tertiam eius partem infœliciter ducit, 120a 1,

filius eius Christianus, 96*b* 4, fidem procerum pericitur, 119*b* 2, ignarus uir et diligens, 119*b* 1, Indre regem necat, filiam eius uxorem ducit, 119*b* 4, latebras petit et seruatur, 120*b* 2, optionem dat liberis, 120*b* 2, oraculo et suffragijs in regnum euehitur, 119*a* 4, paricidio inaugurator, *b* 2, Scythas educit, 119*a* 2, opprimit, 119*b* 3, simulachrum sui ipsius erigit, 120*a* 4, superbia illius, *ibid*, tactus de cælo moritur, 120*b* 2

Cistam, 124*a* 1 [2
Ciuitatum quas Temurius cepit enumeratio, 127*b*
P' Claudius Aquauina, totius Societatis Jesu
Præpositus, 106*b* 4
Clementis Regis, 40*a* 2
Clepsydræ, 115*a* 1
Coas fluuius, Chabuli flumen, 69*a* 2
Columbarum mira disciplina, 109*a* 2
Cometes, 134*b* 5
Conficius primus Sacerdotum cum Agarenis, 24*a*
3, secundus, 25*a* 4, tertius, 25*b* 1
Coniugij præceptum non esse, 72*b* 3
Coniurationum occasio, 52*a* 2
Coramias, Rex, 123*a* 2, a Temuro uincitur,
124*b* 3
Cornelius, centurio, 29*a* 4
Corbui qhand, *ic*, boni odoris domus, 36*a* 1
Crustnus Naturarum condit, 52*b* 1, ab uni-
uersa totius Indiæ gentilitate colitur, 52*b* 2,
eius natiuitates, 53*a* 2
Cusaqhana, castrum, 124*b* 3
Cutubdicanus, 94*a* 3, 104*b* 1, Damanicum
agrum inuadit, 94*a* 3, flagitij pœnas dat, *a* 4
Cuyngcanus, Rex Christianus, 122*a* 3
Cyperinum, oppidum, 166*b* 1
Cyprus, insula, 122*a* 3
Cyrus Persarum Rex, 140*a* 1

D

Daci, 138*b* 4
Dæmon malus Agaræ, 23*b* 2 3, eius astutia,
54*a* 3
Dæmonum malorum erga Mahameddem obse-
quium, 58*a* 2, cum Christo inimicitie, *a* 3
Dabæ, 128*a* 4, 138*b* 4, 139*a* 4
Damano Sacerdotes iter ineunt, 7*b* 2
Damascus diripitur, 125*b* 2
Danus, uel Danialus, tertius Zelaldini filius, 110*b*
1. 2
Dannum, oppidum, 94*b* 2

Darbentum, Damarcab, portæ ferreæ arx, 124*b* 4
Darganxus, urbs Scythiæ, 120*b* 1, 121*a* 1
Darius, 126*b* 4, 140*a* 2
Dauidus, Patanæorum Rex, 118*a* 3
Daulpurum, castrum, 18*b* 4
I ecempedâ cathenâ iter mensuratur, 45*a* 1
Defensio Armenorum et Hyrcanorum, 77*b* 1
Dei uestigator, Thalab Qhoda, 96*b* 3
Delazacuij, 66*b* 4, 139*b* 3, Delazacuiorum
principum inimicitie, 69*b* 1
Delium, 22*b* 3, regum Christianorum sedes,
23*a* 1, 55*a* 3 4, 56*a* 2, eius ornamenta,
55*b* 2, ædificia et fabricæ, 56*a* 1 2 3, eius
indigetis et presidium, *a*. 4, ager amœnus *b* 2,
Delini ueteris ruinæ, *b* 3
Demetrius Callinicus, 139*a* 4
Demonstratio exigitur, 99*a* 1
Deum, qua Deus est, corpore et accidentibus
carere, 99*b* 1
Diclas, 138*a* 4, *b* 4
Dierbeca, Adiebene, 127*a* 3
Dies bona et mala quomodo accipiantur, 100*b*
1 2 3 4 5
Dijal, uel Dajal, Antichristus, 74*b* 4
Diplomata explorantur, 113*b* 1
Disciplina militaris, 47*b* 2
Disputatio natalitiorum Christi festo instituta,
36*a* 3, de cælibatu et matrimonio, 71*b* 3, de
extremo iudicio, 73*b* 1, de librorum concursa-
tione, 75*a* 1, pro sacris imaginibus, 78*a* 3, de
Pœnitentie Sacramento, 89*b* 4, ad mediam
noctem, 98*b* 4
Disputationum cum Agarenis materies, 32*a* 4,
b 1
Distantia fontium Gangis et Jomais, 57*b* 4
Diu, Dionysia, insula, urbs et presidium, 95*a* 2
Dogmata uaria, 105*a* 5
Drauis, fluuius, 121*a* 2
Dungari, Patanæorum castrum, 59*b* 3

E

Ebadullas, legatus, 111*b* 4, 104*b* 2
Ecclesiæ optimum institutum, 122*a* 4
Edictum regium cum uenatur, 44*b* 2
Ediguus proditor, 129*a* 3, Rex Tartariæ sedi-
tiose salutatur, *a* 4, Totamixam regem fundit,
124*b* 1, Tartaros in Agarenorum supersti-
tionem compellit, 129*b* 3, eius timor in castris
Xacattæorum, 136*a* 4
Effœminati, 38*a* 4

Egida, urbs Armeniæ, 135*b* 1
 Elephantum ductores, 48*b* 2, hi scilicet carnibus
 efferantur, 49*i* 1, mira multitudo in Zelaldini
 castris, 48*b* 3, natura, 49*a* 4, nexus habent,
 50*a* 4, ad numeros saltant 49*b* 1, pugnacitas,
 48*b* 3 quomodo coercantur, 51*a* 1 2 3 4,
 Rhinocerotem timent, 50*b* 2 socijs neque ac
 hostibus perniciem afferunt, 79*b* 2
 Elnessa, 11*i* mensa, Alcoram caput 99*i* 4
 Emanuel Saldanus 94*b* 1
 Emanuel Serarum Rex, 130*b* 2
 Ennannus, Zelaldini Equebaris pater, 22*b* 3,
 infelici casu moritur Delini, *b* 3 117*b* 4
 diuersa eius ab Equebare studia, *b* 4, eius
 regia Delinam 55*a* 3 4 Patreos conficit,
a 1, Baburi Regis filius, 117*b* 1 1 Patreos
 exagitatus ad Persarum auxilium confugit
b 3 4
 Endymionis somnus, 18*a* 4
 Epicedion cientes eiecti a Christo, 28*b* 3
 Epitome actorum Christi, 67*a* 2
 Equebaris consilium egregium 51*a* 2 Fattepur-
 um condit 21*a* 4 ignis optionem proponit
 26*i* 1, imperium 92*a* 1 2, legati eius Goxe
 6*i* 2 litterarum eius exemplar, 6*i* 3, opinio
 de Mahamedde 20*b* 4, Sacerdotes commonet,
 24*b* 4, uestitum Lusitanicum induit, 20*a* 2
 [Cf Zelaldinus]
 Equi lacessendis elephantibus issuescunt, 51*b* 1
 Essedones 139*i* 1
 Euangelium a Zelaldino petitur, 6*i* 4 diuinae legis
 explicatio est, 99*i* 1 loci eius interpretatio,
 29*b* 1, periodice [sic] conuertuntur in Persicum
 sermonem 22*a* 3 Christianis datum, 75*b* 1
 Eucratis, 139*b* 4
 Eunuchus Ethiopum, 30*a* 1
 Euphrates, 124*b* 4
 Europa, 97*b* 1
 Exemplum, 29*i* 4
 Exercitus multitudo, 46*a* 1
 Ezechiel Propheta, 138*b* 4

F

Fabula Europæorum hominum, 58*b* 1
 Facetia utilis, 114*a* 3
 Fanum castrense, 88*b* 3
 Faridum canus, 76*a* 3 4 85*a* 4
 Farrago rationum, 48*a* 3
 Fattepurum, 19*b* 4, a Zelaldino conditum, 21*a*
 4, eius filius, *b* 1, digniora ædificia, *b* 2,

stagnum arte comparatum, 22*a* 1, ludii publici
 aguntur, 91*b* 1, edes maxima, 109*a* 2
 Fatum, 101*a* 1
 Fernandus Castrus, 94*b* 1
 Fernandus Mirandus, 94*b* 1, 104*a* 2
 Fides coniugalit uxoris Emaumi, 55*b* 1
 Fides data seruatur, 104*a* 4
 Fides pro demonstratione credenti, 99*a* 2
 Filij trucidantur a stolidis et impijs parentibus,
 119*b* 2
 Fœmmarum incendium 37*b* 4
 Fortitudo Regis, 40*a* 2
 Franciscus Mascarinus, Villadortæ dynasta, In-
 dire præses, 104*b* 2
 Franciscus Arner, e Societate Jesu, Lusitanus,
 cum Rodolfo necatur, 106*b* 3

G

Gabera, 7*b* 4, eorum sedes Nausarinus, *b* 4,
 Persæ Curram et Judæi dicuntur, 8*a* 1, eorum
 instituta et mores, *a* 1, ignem et solem
 colunt *b* 2 eorum iusiurandum, *b* 3 adul-
 teris nares amputant, 9*i* 1
 Gaberius exhorret, 9*b* 3
 Gabirius, 120*b* 3
 Gabriel Archangelus, 92*a* 4, 93*a* 2
 Gaccares 63*a* 4 Agarenti sunt et plagij infames,
 64*a* 1
 Gagaris, oppidum, 66*b* 3
 Galactici Tartari, 125*a* 5
 Galatia, 127*a* 1
 Gandarum Patanæ, 77*a* 2
 Gandaridis et Suastenæ situs, *ibid*
 Ganessus, 55*a* 2
 Gangaridis præses perimitur, 35*a* 1 40*b* 4
 Ganges 57*b* 4
 Gansada Miramnam proditionis insinulat, 133*a* 3
 Garsias Tuore, 10*a* 4
 Gelalebad [sic] zelus ad cultum, urbs, 84*a* 3,
 85*a* 1 3
 Gentilium superstitio expiandi peccata, 11*a* 3,
 eorum Setamia, 11*a* 4, ad Maturanum sese in
 Jomane eluunt, 54*a* 2
 Gentilitiæ inferiæ 15*a* 2
 Gentiles frequenter uentitant, 37*a* 2
 Georgiani, Hyrcani, uulgo Garg, 124*b* 3
 Getæ Indici et eorum cultus, 67*a* 2
 Gigantum cum dijs bella, 55*a* 1
 Gladiatorij ludii, 37*a* 4
 Goa, metropolis Indiæ, 7*b* 2

Goaleris, urbs, 17*b* 1, ibi uestigia sunt sacrarum
 imaginum, *b* 2, eam olim Christiani tenuerunt,
b 3, in ea Babacapurius colitur, 18*a* 1, eius
 arx procerum est ergastulum, 14*b* 2
 Gorus et Goorenthuri, i.e. Gori sella 81*a* 1
 Goundiuar, idoli uicus, 59*b* 3

H

Hæreditates, 112*b* 2
 Hasarmotus, 138*a* 4
 Hebræi pueri tres in fornace, 26*b* 4
 Helicum, Parthiæ urbs, 136*a* 1
 Henricus IV, Castellæ Rex, 121*b* 2, 134*b* 3
 Henricus, Lusitanie Rex, diem claudit, 12*a* 3
 73*a* 3, sanctitas illius, *a* 4
 Henricus Tauore, Gole Archiepiscopus, 7*a* 1
 Heremita Christiani, 84*a* 1
 Hipanis, uel Bibasis Macedonice excursionis ter-
 minus, 60*b* 1
 Homines ad excellentium uenerationem ducuntur,
 9*b* 1
 Hyperbole, 110*a* 3
 Hyrcani et Armeni Palestinam petunt, 122*b* 2
 Hyrcanum mare, 138*b* 5
 Hyrcani, Georgiani, uulgo Gurg, 124*b* 3

I

Iberia, 124*b* 4
 Iconium, Licaonia urbs, 119*b* 4, ueterum Tur-
 carum sedes, 120*a* 1
 Idanthysus, Scythia, 140*a* 2
 Idæa sacra, 17*a* 3
 Ignatius Auenedius, 106*b* 3
 Ignis examen proponitur ab Agarenis, 25*b* 4
 et a Zeladino, 26*a* 1
 Ignis indicium quare dubium et incertum, 27*a* 2
 Imaus mons ferro et chalybe abundat, 56*b* 4
 Cuamaus dicitur, 57*b* 3, eius habitatores
 gentiles, *b* 3, fertilis 61*a* 4, idem Crispus,
 85*b* 2, idem Imaus, 138*b* 2
 Imperium Equebaricum, 92*a* 1 2
 Incendij sceminarum mos, 38*a* 1
 India intra Gangem et eius ora maritima, 115*b* 3,
 peramœna, ex natura cuiusque tractus diuersos
 fructus edit, 115*b* 4, ea olim potiti sunt reges
 Christiani, 116*a* 4, eius Rex Temurum superat,
 130*a* 1, eius in Pâharopaniso præsidia, 130*a*
 4, eius æstas, 65*a* 3
 Indiæ Minoris quattuor prefectura, 130*a* 3

Indorum superstitio, 52*b* 3 4, ædificia, 108*b* 3
 Indosethia nouæ sectæ author, 80*a* 4
 Indosethia, 117*a* 4, a Scythiis habitata, 139*b* 3
 Indus, fluuius, 66*b* 4, quantus, 68*b* 3, aurifer,
b 4, eius origo et descriptio *b* 4, incremen-
 tum et causa, 69*a* 2 3, decrementum, 89*a* 2
 Inferia gentilitiæ, 15*a* 2
 Immunitiarum causa, 93*a* 4, *b* 1
 Innocentius Quartus, Pontif. Max., 138*b* 4
 Institutio Agarenica damnatur, 38*b* 2
 Institutio liberorum Zeladini, 110*b* 4 111*a* 1
 Institutum Tartarorum, 40*b* 1
 Interamnus Indi & Bydaspis, 66*b* 2
 Interamnus Sandabalis & Adris, 62*a* 3
 Ismael Culicanus, 5*b* 4 [6*a* 1]
 Ismael Sophus 92*a* 4
 Israelitici templi suppellectilia, 78*a* 2

J

Jachus, Xacatta regis filius, 120*b* 4, occasum
 petiit, 121*a* 2, regnat, *a* 3
 Iacobus Lopezius Coutignus, 93*b* 3
 Iacobus Soria, pirata, 106*b* 3
 Jadondas, Brachmana, 97*a* 2
 Jansas, Temuri ex sorore nepos, 131*b* 3, 133*a* 5
 Japetus, 138*a* 4
 Japonenses Niphonsi, 107*a* 1
 Japonensium Reges, 30*a* 3
 Jataxqhana, domus sitis 112*a* 5
 Jaxartes fluuius, 121*b* 2, 128*a* 4
 Jazyge, 120*a* 1
 Jectanus, 138*a* 4
 Joannes Athaidius, 94*b* 2
 Jogues se annosos predicant, 65*b* 2, ad rem
 audi, *b* 4, eorum familiæ, 97*b* 3, multa con-
 fingunt, 116*b* 1
 Jomanes, 54*a* 1, 56*b* 2, eius fontes, 57*b* 4
 Josephi Ruytasi præsidis fides, 41*a* 4, *b* 1,
 conuiuium dñt Regi, 66*a* 1
 Juris dicendi potestas, 52*a* 4
 Juuenes nouem captantur et pro fide necantur,
 93*b* 3, 94*a* 1, duo alij pro religione occum-
 bunt, 103*b* 4

L

Lacertæ genus quoddam creditur basiliscus, 15*b*
 2
 Lahurum, metropolis, 59*b* 3, 90*b* 2 4

Iana, bombycino et serico tenuior, 61*b* 1
 Landiquana, 83*a* 1
 Lanthinus, Scythia, 140*a* 2
 Lanugo arborea, 138*b* 3
 Lapides, interuallorum itineris metæ, 22*b* 1
 Latrones, passim, 102*a* 2
 Lectores admonentur, 86*i* 1
 Legatio in Lusitaniam, 104*b* 4, pretermittitur,
ibid, eius exitus qui fuerit mente Zelaldinus
 iudicium facit, 105*a* 2
 Legatio presidis Turcici ad Zelaldinum, 111*i* 1
 Lex una ab initio mundi, 68*o* 5
 Lex uetus Hebræis data, 75*b* 1
 Licet non liceat equos 113*a* 1
 Loci Sacre Scripture 28*o* 1 2
 Loci in Leuitico interpretatio 29*b* 1
 Locus et simili, 29*i* 1 75*o* 1
 Locus ab exemplo Disparæ Virginis Mariæ 29*i* 4,
 ab exemplo Corneliæ Centurionis, 29*i* 4
 Lucanus poeta 1, 11*b* 4
 Ludi publici, 67*b* 2
 Ludrum municipium 59*b* 2
 Ludouicus, Francorum Rex, 122*i* 3
 Ludouicus Athadius Monguræ dynastæ Indie
 præses, 6*b* 4 Sacerdotibus ad iter conuocatum
 dat, 7*b* 1
 Lunæ defectus, 12*a* 2
 Lusitana classis, 102*b* 3
 Lusitanorum constantiam Zelaldinus periclitatur,
 5*a* 4
 Lusitanorum uirtus et fortitudo, 5*b* 1

M

Machipara, fluuius, 14*b* 2
 Machiuara, piscium uicus, 50*a* 4
 Madeus Adamus creditur, 55*a* 2
 Maessuris, 52*b* 3
 Memiana, 88*a* 1
 Magogus, 138*a* 4 *b* 4, ab eo Mongoli, *b* 4
 Mahammeddes pseudopropheta, 20*b* 4 eius de
 beatitudine sententia, 25*b* 1, fabulas agi uctat,
 110*i* 2, fraus eius, *a* 2, impijssimus, 98*b* 3,
 incestas nuptias inducit, 110*a* 3, nefandum
 malum non coerces, 114*b* 1, illi conuiuet, 37*a*
 1, pseudopropheta, 73*b* 4, Paracleti nomen
 sibi arrogat, 1*e*, Mustafa, 74*a* 1, stirpis
 Ismaeliticæ, 74*b* 4, testimonium de Christo et
 Maria Virgine, 25*b* 1, de seipso, *b* 2

Mahammeddes Mirsachimus, Chabuli Rex, 39*b* 3
 86*i* 4, aciem instruit, 76*b* 1, arcem reposcit
 et repellitur, 41*i* 4 epistole ipsius ad Xaman-
 surum tertio intercipiuntur, 56*b* 4, Fœtiales
 mittit, 71*a* 1, cum Faridumcano expostulat
 et receptui eruit, 79*i* 2 3, se in fugam dat,
 59*i* 3, et filium in fuga amittit, 86*a* 3,
 Gelalabadum describit, 85*a* 4, ad Lahurum
 castra ponit, 41*a* 4, *b* 1, urbem non diripit,
 91*a* 4, litteris supplices mittit, 59*b* 4,
 nauiculas comburi iubet, 62*b* 1, noctem refert,
 42*a* 1

Mahammeddes Sultanus, Temuri filius, 126*b* 4
 Mancinus regulus, 70*b* 1, 91*a* 2
 Mancipia Samarcandam amandantur, 125*b* 2
 Mandhoum, 12*a* 4 Mongoli creduntur condidisse
 aut certe instaurasse, *b* 4, eius præfectus,
 102*a* 3 septenni obsidione premitur, 13*a* 2,
 sepulchrorum ager, 14*a* 3, sepulchrum Mongoli-
 corum regum habet, 13*b* 2, templum more
 Christiano edificatum, 14*a* 2, tormentum fer-
 reum ibi colitur, 13*b* 1, urbs amplissima, 12*a*
 4 5
 Manichæorum elementa, 53*a* 1
 Mansrauuer, Christianorum municipium, 116*b* 2,
 eorum ritus et consuetudo, *b* 4
 Manubia, 132*b* 4
 Marre Disparæ Virginis effigies, 98*a* 1
 Martinus Alfonsus Melius, 94*b* 1
 Martius mensis, 97*a* 4
 Massur, Memphis, Cayrum, 127*i* 4
 Matris Zelaldini genus, 119*a* 1, a Christianus
 orta, 123*a* 1

Maturanum, urbs, 52*a* 4, eius descriptio, 53*b* 4
 Medi, 139*b* 2
 Medicus præclare crucis-am Passionis Christi red-
 dit, 75*b* 1
 Memphis Cayrum, Massâr, 127*a* 4
 * Mensuratio itineris, 45 [a 1] ¹
 Mesopotamia, 124*b* 4
 Messagetæ, 138*b* 5, 139*b* 1
 Miram Sultanus, 103*b* 1 2
 Miramxas prodicionis insimulatur, 133*a* 3
 Mirsachimus prærupta obtinet, 86*i* 3 [Cf *supra*
 Mahammeddes Mirsachimus]
 Mithridates, 127*a* 1
 Moghostan a palmis dicitur, 121*b* 4, 122*a* 1
 Mongolia, 121*b* 3, Scythiæ regio, *b* 3, 138*b* 2

¹ From another hand, in ink

Mongo, amnis, 119a 3
 Mongoli, 13a 1, Mongolicarum acierum ordo, 70b 3, instructio, 79a 4, conductitij milites, 122a 1, digladiandi modus, 37b 2, excursio, 99a 3, eruptio, 119a 2 3, epulae, 131b 1, in Indiam excurrunt, 121b 4, a Magogo orti, 138b 4, Mandhoum condiderunt, 12b 4, ibi regnant, 121b 1, nominis eorum coniectura, 119a 3, nouas sedes querunt, 13a 1, Osbe qui ab ijs orti, 122a 3, 1 Patinais profligantur, 13a 2, potus eorum, 134b 1, quidam eorum Sacerdoti mortem parat, 101a 3 4, 102b 2, regum ipsorum insigne, 14a 2, sepulchrum regum, 13b 2, eius descriptio, b 2, techna et proditio, 91a 2, uisum ingenium 94b 1
 Mongolorum, uulgo Mangilor, 1 Mongolis, 121b 4
 Mons Neræ, Piharneri, 7b 3
 Motus post Temuri mortem, 135b 5
 Moysi apparet Deus in rubo, 98b 5
 Mubarec, 1c benedictus, Abdulsilij pater et filij, 34b 2 3
 Mussapharus Srydius, legatus, 101b 2, 101b 1
 Mussapharus, Gedrosia rex, pulsus, 91a 4

N

Nabuchodonosor, 120a 4
 Nagarcottum, 60a 1, eius regulus, b 2
 Nanius, fluuius, 62a 2
 Naroaris et saltus et ciuitas, 16b 1 2, cæli Naroarici inclementia, b 2
 Naruadâ, fluuius, 12a 3
 Naurus, nouendialis Mongolorum, 97a 3
 Nausarinum, 7b 4, Gabaræorum sedes, b 4
 Natalitij Christi disputatio, 36a 2
 Natolia, Asia Minor, Turquia uel Turcia, 127a 3
 Nicodemus, 30a 3
 Nilabhum presidium instauratur, 68b 2, Atac Balanaz, *ibid*, etymologia, 69a 3
 Nilagau, 1c cerulea bos, 44b 3
 Nilum, herba, 116a 3
 Niphonsi, Japonæ, 107a 1
 Noes, 98b 5, 138a 5
 Nouendiales feræ Agarenorum, 16b 3
 Noui nouatores Agarenis deteriores, 98a 3
 Nourancanus, 70a 4

O

Obeliscus, 66a 3, 82b 3
 Ocypodes, uel Pegasi, Gelabdares Indici, 115a 3, Anch, Tartaricæ, 133b 1

Officiorum quotidiana instauratio, 112a 1
 Omnium insolens epistola, 136b 2, bellum in patrem, b 2, perfidia in fratrem, b 4
 Opificiorum instrumenta noui homines præferunt, 112a 4
 Opium cuiusque erga suum institutum, 100b 1
 Oppium hausto oleo mortem affert, 18a 4
 Orbis patre pueris generosis prospicitur, 112b 1
 Osbeques, Cingiscani filius, 120b 3 4
 Osbeq Sultanus, 138a 1
 Otthodryus, Cingiscani filius Christianus, 120b 3, 121a 1, ueneno tollitur, b 3
 Otthodryi milites Mongoli et Tartari, 121b 4

P

Panchangari oppidum, 60a 3
 Paulum, oppidum, 59a 3
 Pagriui templi deiiciunt, 132b 3
 Paharbatius fluuius, 15b 1
 Pahari, 1c Montanus, Zeldimi filius, 34a 4, patri primam aciem ducit 70a 4 idem, 110b 1 2, eius comitatus, 70b 1 2, fortitudo, 79a 1, in campo consistit, a 3
 Piharnera, mons Neræ, 7b 3
 Piharopanisadum aborigines, 139b 4
 Piharopanisas, terra Chabul, 68b 3, 117a 3
 Piharopanisus, 85b 2
 Pihaructus mons, 82b 3 4, 85b 2 3
 Palatia noua, castrum Natoliae uel Asiae Minoris, 127a 3
 Pampatum, urbs, 57a 1
 Pinnones, 120a 1
 Pantheræ, 44b 3
 Paphilagomia, 139b 2
 Paradoxum, 111a 1
 Paramicessuris, 52b 3
 Parentum indulgentia, 120b 3
 Parganâ Peytan, Peytanensis conuentus, 601 3
 Parthi, 124b 2, [exules?] dicti, 139a 4
 Parthia, 139a 4, montosa, *ibid*
 Paschaltia quid significant, 31a 3
 Pasthōum idioma, 67a 2, 139b 3
 Patanæ Mongolos profligant, 13a 2, idem, 66b 4, 85a 5, 117a 4, Gandaræ et Suasteni, 77a 2
 Paulus ictus a bestia, 16a 2
 Parua Scythia, 139a 3
 Payazitux Rex, 124b 4, 125a 1, eius insolens responsio, a 2, capitur, 126b 2

Pecuniarum acerui, 113^a 3
 Pecus ovis magnitudine sine sectionibus in Imao, 61^b 1
 Pelusium, urbs Ægypti, 127^a 4
 Peroratio operis, 140^a 4
 Persæ, 92^b 4, eorum institutum et mos, 111^b 4
 Persarum noua secta 117^b 3
 Persia, 124^b 2, eius sapientes, 97 1, eius linguæ Sacerdotes dant operam, *a* 3, 31^b 3
 Persis, 119^b 4
 Petrus Tauarius, patritius Lusitanus, 5^b 3
 Petrus Menesius, 91^a 3
 Petrus Berna, sacerdos Frisius, seu Teuto, 106^b 3
 Peruzij Regis genus et pietas, 55^b 4, ædificia et fabricæ, 56^a 1 2 3
 Phalegus, 138^a 5
 Phanum castrense 88^b 3
 Pharaglitâ, uox conficta, 74^a 2
 Phraartes, 139^b 1
 Pimpaldar, oppidum, 15^b 1
 Pir Mahammeddes, Temuri nepos, 133^a 5
 Pirxaurum, 79^b 4, 80^b 3
 Pirxec olid ezlamus, Sophus, 109^a 3
 Pissuri, 138^b 5
 Platani, 116^a 1
 Plebecula in scopulis perit, 94^a 3
 Pœna capitis, 113^b 4
 Pœnæ sontibus propositæ 114^a 4
 Poloni, 120^a 1
 Pompeius, 127^a 1
 Pontificis Romani dignitas, 96^a 4
 Pontium construendarum modus, 47^a 1
 Pontus Euuinus, 120^a 1, 139^b 2 [4
 Portæ ferreæ, Derbentum Damarcab арс, 124^b
 Postinorum noua secta, 18^b 3
 Præceptoris lenitas, 34^a 2 3 4
 Præda Samarcandam deportatur, 128^a 4
 Præfecturæ, 52^a 1
 Præsidia in angustijs itinerum, 47^b 1
 Præsidibus humilia imperantur, 52^a 2
 Presbyter Joannes Indicus, 116^a 4
 Proditionis caussa et initia, 39^b 1 2
 Promissis et minus agit Zelaldinus, 46^b 1
 Protheus, inconstantia symbolum, 104^b 5
 Prouerbum, 66^b 2
 Prouidentia regia erga commeatum, 46^a 2
 Proxenetæ Regis capite plectitur, 114^b 1
 Pueri Hebræi tres in fornace, 26^b 1
 Puerorum perfusio et baptisma, 122^a 4
 Puranâ Siquiri, 21^b 1

Q

Qhaterbâgus, Persiæ oppidum, 125^a 3
 Qhoiamundus, 82^a 3
 Qhumâ, oppidum, 62^b 3
 Quæsita Regis, 67^a 4
 Quæstio de Mahammedde, 73^b 4
 Quæstor Zelaldini, 86^b 3
 Quelemetalla, Dei uerbum, in Alcorano Christus dicitur, 99^a 4
 Quiniscus, Phrygiæ castrum, 127^a 3

R

Raeneranum præsidium, 10^b 2
 Râffigi, 92^b 4
 Raori, Adris, fluuius, 61^b 4
 Rasputi, Gedrosiæ nobilitas, 48^b 1 3 4
 Rassul, nuntius uel Apostolus, 89^b 3
 Rathoi, Indiæ interioris nobilitas, 48^b 1 3 4
 Regiæ uoluntatis erga Sacerdotes significationes, 39^a 1
 Regij filij indoles et ingenium, 33^b 3
 Reginis in itinere custodes dantur, 45^b 3 4
 Regis clementia et fortitudo, 40^a 2, excusatio futilis, 94^b 3, prouidentia, 46^a 2
 Regni Equebarum termini, 115^a 5
 Reguli Zelaldino parent, 46^b 1, illi sunt a consilijs, 110^b 2
 Regulus, 15^a 2, 16^a 3
 Reprehensio dicti, 77^b 1
 Responsiones ad quæsita Regis, 67^b 1, 72^b 2
 Rex Deiparæ Virginis Mariæ addictus, 98^a 1, in disputationibus sententiæ moderator, 33^a 2, filium instituendum Sacerdotibus tradit, 33^a 4
 Rhages conuentus Ree prouincia, 127^b 3
 Rhamxandus Rex, 66^a 3, [82^b 3]
 Rhauadum, oppidum, 66^b 1
 Rhinoceros elephantis uentrum petit, 50^b 3
 Rhymnici, 139^a 1
 Riulus salebrosus et lubricus, 66^a 2
 Roalcudz, Spiritus Sanctus, 76^a 1
 Roalla, Dei halitus, uox inepta, 99^a 4
 Robur belli in equitatu, 51^b 1
 Rodericus Vincentius, 7^a 2
 Rodolfus ægrotat grauiter, 39^b 3, eius constantia, 28^a 2, Cunculini necatur, 105^a 1, elogium ipsius, 105^a 3, genus, 106^b 4, Goam redit, 104^b 5, jugulum sponte præbet, 106^b 1
 legationis prouincia ei demandatur, 7^a 3 4, Mariæ Virginis addictus eam uoti nexu fre-

qucutur collaudat, 105*b* 1 2, necis dies, 106*b* 3, necis socij, *ibid*, Persicum idioma breui addiscit, 32*a* 1, 101*b* 4, Regio occurrit, 90*b* 1, Regis filium instituit, 97*a* 3, sapiens et pius eius responsum, 9*b* 1 vulnera illi imposita, 106*b* 2

Rumæus eques, 111, Græcus Turca, 103*a* 1

Rumor defectionis a secta, 39*b* 1

Rustici proditio, 124*a* 1

Rutheni, 120*a* 1

Rustisus, urbs, 61*a* 2

S

Sicci, 118*b* 5, 139*b* 1

Sacerdotum sententiam Abdolisilius sequitur, 33*a* 1, admonentur a Rege, 21*b* 1 Agireno rum placitis cum ipsis pugnant 32*b* 1, Damanum unus uenit, 101*a* 3, discrimen capitis illi obuenit, 10*b* 3, dubium proponitur, 99*b* 4, Eumeglij periodos conuertunt, 32*a* 3, 101*a* 3 gladiatorios ludos reprehendunt, 37*a* 4, Goum alter contendit, 101*b* 1, iudicium eorum de Regis commentu, 95*a* 1, laborat unus ad mortem, 90*i* 1, ocisionem conueniendi regem cupiant, 21*a* 1, optionem Agircus dant, 100*a* 2, pecuniam accipere renunt, 20*a* 3, periculis multis unus eorum liberatur, 101*b* 1, Persice lingue dunt operum 91 3, 11*b* 3, questum eorum, 98*a* 4, id Regem deducuntur, 19*b* 1, Regis animum explorant 11*a* 1 responsio illorum 261 3, reuocantur, 91*a* 4, Societatis Jesu Sacerdotes duo in Gangiride, 5*b* 3, tres cum Equebirc uersantur, 7*a* 3, Surate mouent, 10*b* 1, spes lucri animarum, 95*b* 3, unus in uitæ periculum uenit, 16*a* 1, ab elephante prope perijt, 50*a* 4, in aliud discrimen uenit, 88*a* 2, capitur, 102*b* 3, in custodia ponitur, *b* 4, cum honore soluitur 103*b* 1 Damanum uenit, 104*a* 3

Sacrificiorum Agarenicorum feriae, 11*a* 4

Saddari oppidum, 62*b* 3

Salices, 116*a* 1

Salomonis templum, 109*b* 1

Samarcanda, 117*a* 3, eius situs et descriptio, 128*a* 4, orbi celebris, 128*a* 1, eadem, 121*b* 2, Cimesquint dicitur, 111, pinguis uilla, 129*a* 1, agri ipsius ubertas, *ibid*, eius urbis et imperij armorum insigne, *ibid*

Samarcandæ, 121*a* 4 eorum conspiratio, 124*a* 3

Samba, urbs et presidium, 62*a* 1

Samballus fluuius, 18*b* 3

Sandabalis Xenao fluuius, 66*a* 3, in eius traiectu multi percunt, 62*a* 4, *b* 2, in eo insula, 62*b* 3

Sapor, Rex Persarum, 127*a* 1

Sarangpurum, urbs, 15*a* 4

Sarindum, 58*b* 3

Sarmatia, unde dicta, 138*b* 1, 139*b* 3

Sarmaticum mare, 119*a* 3

Satanulge, Zaradrus fluuius, 59*a* 4

Sauromate, 107*a* 1, 139*b* 2

*Schæni ferri, 145*a* 1

Scribe, 111*b* 3 4

Scripturæ Sacre loci, 28*b* 1 2 3

Scythie, 97*b* 1, 128*a* 4, administratio priscorum Scytharum, 119*a* 3 Arimæi dicti olim, 138*b* 1 bellica haude semper clari, 139*i* 3, eruptio illorum, 119*i* 2 3, finitimus uetigales, *a* 2 nomina uaria sortiuntur, 139*i* 1, eorum origo, 138*a* 4, studia diuersa, 139*a* 1, unde dicti, 138*a* 1

Scythia, 138*b* 1, Serica, *b* 2

Scythotauri, 139*a* 4

Sebis, 138*a* 4, *b* 2

Sebaste, urbs Cappadociae, 125*a* 3, diripitur a Temuro, *a* 4 ciues immaniter perduntur, 132*a* 2

Schistimus, Lusitanie Rex, 73*a* 4, 88*a* 1

Sedani, nunc Decani, 104*b* 1

Sem, 138*a* 5

Senaensis praeses, 111*a* 5, eius nuntij, *b* 1

Sententia dispar gentium de natura deorum 52*b* 4

September mensis, 89*a* 2

Septemuiri, 111*a* 3

Sere uel Seres Cathami, 130*b* 2, bombycini et serici inuentores, 131*a* 1, 138*b* 3

Serarum rex, 130*a* 4, eius copiae, *b* 14

Seres, 121*a* 2

Serica, nunc Cathami, 130*b* 2

Serpens cristatus, 118*b* 3

Seruorum Scythicorum bellum, 140*a* 3

Sethus, 52*b* 3

Sigillum regium, 113*b* 1

A simili locus, 29*a* 1

Similitudo, 72a 4
 Simiorum praestigia, 54a 4
 Sinæ, 107a 1
 Siti exercitus fatigatur, 63a 1
 Situs quattuor concursantium montium, 85b 3
 Siurange urbs, 15b 1, soli eius pestilens natura,
 et uenenat[arum bestiarum] multitudo, *ibid*,
 lacertæ quoddam genus habet quod creditur
 basiliscus, b 2, tugurijs rotundis et humilibus
 extructa, 16a 3
 Sogdiana, 117a 3, 128a 4
 Sogdiani, 97a 4, 121a 3
 Sonipatum, 56b 3
 Sopharis desertoris sepulchrum, 10a 2
 Sophus, 22b 2, 23b 4
 Sophus Ismael, 92a 4
 Sorsus, Hyrcanorum rex Christianus, 137a 3,
 Xacattæos fundit et fugat, a 4
 Spectacula dantur, 97b 2
 Spiritus Sanctus promittitur, 74b 1, Rhoalcudz,
 76a 1
 Stella mons, 127a 1
 Stephani prothomartyris reliquæ, 9b 3
 Stipulator Regius, 113a 1
 Suasthenæ et Gandaridis situs, 77a 2
 Suastheni Patanæi, *ibid*
 Suasthus fluuius, Axtnagar flumen, 69a 2
 Sultan Hammédus, 133a 5
 Sultanus Mekkæ, superstitionum Agarenicarum
 antistes, 100a 1
 Superstitio stulta, 112a 1
 Suranâ, oppidum, 12a 2
 Surate, 7b 4, descriptio, 10a 1, impium pro
 sancto colit, 10a 3, Qhoia Sopharis sepul-
 chrum habet, a 2, Taphi vel Taphiti fluuiio
 alluitur, a 1
 Suratensis gubernator, 102b 4
 Susæ, 127b 3
 Syluæ incendium, 71b 1
 Syria, 127a 3

T

Tagladaius, Xacattæ filius, 120b 4, ad austrum
 proficiscitur, 121a 3
 Tagondarcanus Nicolaus, 122a 4
 Talabqhodâ, Dei uestigator, 96b 3
 Talicia, Temuri hortus, 128b 2
 Tanais, fluuius, 120a 1, 139b 2
 Tanissaris emporium, 57a 2
 Taphi vel Taphiti fluuius Suratem alluit, 10a 1

Taragay uicus, 123b 1
 Tarchanes Mongoli Synthum tenent, 121b 4.
 Tarcon, castrum, 124b 4
 Tartari sæpe in Indiam excurrunt, 121b 4, *idem*,
 124b 3, Galactæi, 125a 5, eorum eruptio,
 119a 2 3, institutum, 40b 1, Tatâr dicuntur,
 119a 4
 Tartaria, 138b 2
 Taurica Chersonesus, 139a 3
 Taurus mons, 126a 1
 Teheraunum, castrum Rhagensis conuentus, 127b
 3
 Temurus, 85b 4, accusatur, 123b 3, ædificandi
 celeritas ipsius, 133b 4, Ægyptum petit, 127a
 4, apophthegmata illius, 135b 1, armorum
 signum, 133b 2, aulæ assidui, 134b 3, bibaci-
 tas, 135a 3, cadauerum struem excitat,
 132a 4, Cappadociam petit, 124b 4, eius
 ætate Christiani erant in India, 116b 1, cog-
 nomina 135b 4, comprehendî iubetur, 123b 4,
 consilium illius, 131a 5, b 1 2 3, conuiuia,
 134a 1, Coramxam uincit, 124b 3, curam
 habet suarum copiarum, 127a 5, crudelitas
 illius, 135a 3, dignitatis militaris insigne,
 133b 3, diuitiæ, 132b 4, domesticus famula-
 tus, 133a 5, elephantum cuneum eludit, 130a
 1, excursiones eius, 124b 3 4 exempla cru-
 delitatis, 135a 4, fallaciter se mortuum renun-
 tiari iubet, 132a 3, familia eius, 133a 2,
 feritas in conuiujs, 134a 2, filij 133a 3,
 flagellum Dei, 125b 4, fortuna, 129b 4, gene-
 rosi eius famuli, 133b 1, genus usque ad Zelal-
 diuum, 137b 1 4, habitudo corporis, 134b 5,
 imperata, 133b 2, imperij eius intercapedo et
 terminus, 127b 1, imperatorem trucidat, 124a
 4, indoles et ingenium, 123b 2, 134b 5,
 initia, 123a 4, iuris dicendi modus, 134b 3 4,
 Langh cognominatur 124b 2, legatos accipit,
 134b 1, litteræ ipsius minaces, 125a 1, ludî,
 134a 1, miles priuatus, 123b 1, Minoris Indiæ
 partem obtinet, 130a 3, mores eius publici et
 priuati, 131a 2, mors, 134b 4, motus post
 eius mortem, 135b 5, nepotes eius arctantur,
 117a 2, nepotes qui? 133a 3, odij eius in
 Christianos caussa, 132b 1, ornamenta cor-
 poris et animi, 131a 3, Paiazitto ludos facit,
 127a 1 2, patria, 123b 1, perfidia, 134a 4,
 Persiam fraude occupat, 124b 2, pœna ab eo
 proposita, 133b 2, posteri, 86a 1, postentia
 eius non exoleuit, 137b 3, prædo fit, 123b 3,

APPENDIX A

¹Between fol 136v and fol 137a a loose leaf is bound up, containing a later? rough draft, which was intended it would appear as an improvement on the historical sketch of the Scythians (fol 138a 4—fol 140a 4) We insert it as an appendix No special entries to it will be found in the Index]

[p 1]

Verum etiam Scythi, non ut ceteris barbaris ut sunt Brazilij et sylvestres Æthiopes Strab lib 7
 Varicongij rudis et inconditus sensus est Quidam enim eorum sapientiæ studijs exculti olim Diog Laert lib 1
 illustri laude celebrati sunt in ijs Anacharsis summi philosophi laudem habuit Egrege autem
 rerum humanarum contemptione et despicientia, deinde constantia in dicendo commendatur,¹
 cum tantum capere dicant sapientiam quantum gens capit semper armata Illud Ennii in eos Tusc lib 5
 detorqueri potest Acridæ bellipotentis sunt magis quam sapientipotentis de Divinat [C 36]

PROGRESSUS ET MORIS

Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habita bipartito distributa est, sicuti fieri in Arabia et Strab lib 2
 in Africa hac nostra tempestate videmus * Nam Scythi quibusdam hominibus² inter se olim Nomades
 fines nulli, neque enim agrum exercebant, nec domus illis ulla aut tectum aut sedes erat, armenta Coriarij
 et pecora semper praesentibus, et per solitudines errare solitis Amaxobij
 Uxores liberosque secum in Scenitæ
 plaustis, corijs ad arcendas pluuias et um frigorum hyememque excipiendam et substruendam Galactophagi
 communitis utebantur quibus pro domibus utebantur lacte et melle vesciebantur, lanæ his usus
 ac uestium ignotus, et quoniam continuis frigoribus urerentur, pellibus ferinis seu murinis uestie-
 bantur et Scythiam quæ uel fors uel cuiusque voluntas ferebat uniuersam pererrabant, et hi
 quidem Eisedones dicebantur qui calutijs suorum parentum auro cinctis pro poculis utebantur Pius 2^{us}
 Gens alia Scytharum fama nostratibus primum nota, quæ societatis hominum et uitæ communi-
 tatis amans ciuitates instituit parua numero et propter ignobilitatem contempta, iuxta Araxum
 et ab aquilonibus Caspij Maris consedis ac cis et ultra Imaum ad solis ortum progressa sui Strab lib 11
 imperij fines propagasse narratur Scythi cis Imaum Dahæ olim et Daci annumerabantur Illis Dioc Sic
 uero qui ultra Imaum degunt Sacæ et Messagetæ Dahis adscribuntur Aparmi qui Hircanis et lib 3, cap 11
 eorum mari proxime adiacent, tum Nanthij, deinde Pissuri, et Indoscythæ, qui Indiæ sunt Strabo, ibi-
 contermini usque ad oppositam Asiæ regionem quæ Arachosia dicitur Sacis et Messagetis dantur dem
 Sarmatæ quos a Scythiis oriri ueteres etiam tradiderunt Aiunt uero qui genealogiam scripserunt Dioc ibid
 ad Alangumi [sic] usque ætatem maiorem natu regis filium uniuerso regno dominari solitum Strab ibid
 Tatarum et Mongolum primos regnum fuisse partitos Tataram Scythiæ extra Imaum, Mongolum noc lib 2 cap 20
 Scythiæ intra Imaum imperium tenuisse et suo quemque regno nomen indidisse, et utriusque Dyclos
 imperium Imai terminis definisse, Tartariæ ab occidente sole, Mogaliæ ab ortu eiusdem Creten De
 Ptholemai interpretes aliter sentire uidetur lib sub finem
 (Lib 6, cap 15, tab Asiæ 8) ||

VIRTUS BELLICA

[p 2]

Fuerunt semper Scythæ bellica laude clari Nam Dahæ Bactrianum et Parthicum imperium
 condiderunt, quod Romanos haud mediocriter lacerauit Nam Arsaces, homo Scythæ, Callinici Justin lib 1

¹ Added, in a variant of this sentence to be found at foot "ut qui eius constantiam imitarentur τῶν ἀπο Σκυθῶν
 ηοιρ, 1 e, a Scythi orationem imitari diceretur Huic ancorte et figuli rotæ inuenta tribuunt

² 1st Hominiibus eorum

Herod Mel-
 pome lib 4
 [127]

Demetrii potentiam cum Daharum exili manu declinans ad Parthos sui generis homines, qui olim seditione domo pulsī quasi exules (quod nomen ipsum sonat) paruam eamque montosam regionem colebant praecepit atque, ijs qui forte obstiterunt superatis, cæteros ad suum imperium adduxit Cuius stirpis fuere. Arsaces, cuius filius Pāmpatus, Pharnaces, Mithridates, et alij ad Phraartem usque qui, rebus cum Romanis compositis, liberos suos Cæsari Augusto credidit et nepotes obsides dedit Sacæ autem et Messagetæ qui a regibus more patriæ nomen acceperunt ex prouincijs a se bello subactis in alias præfecturas colonias deduxerunt alteram quidem eamque maximam ex Assyrijs, quæ inter Paphlagoniam et Pontum Bythiniae posita est quæ regio Turcarum aborigines tanquam oua colubri fouit, quæ ubi foetum exclusit, hoc uiperarum, genimine (liceat hoc uerbo uti) ipsum Pontum, Paphlagoniam, Bithiniam, Minorem Asiam, Lydiam, Cariam, Lyciam, Pamphiliam, Lycaoniam, Galatiam, Cappadociam, Minorem Armeniam Chersonesum denique omnem intra Euphratem, quæ postea Magna Tartaria uocata est, compleuit Alteram ex Medis quam pone Tanaïm collocarunt eiusque habitatores ab oculorum forma Sauromatæ dicti sunt Sunt enim oculis exiguis et lacertæ, quæ Græce σαύρος dicitur, similibus Indoscythiam ad Paharopanisadem ipsi etiam condiderunt, cuius incolæ hac ætate Patanæi ab urbe quadam principe, et Delazacqui, i.e. ex corde ueri, et alijs nominibus appellantur Et Patanæi Parthorum Bactrarumque ex Scythico et Medico mixto idiomate utuntur, quod Pastoum uocant Hos etiam Persæ Auftganos [sic] nominant Nam ab Eucratide primum Bactræ, deinde Parthi Eucratidis filio interfecto, a Mithridate Arsacis pronepote in eam regionem inuecti sunt Imperium Asiæ ter quæsiere, ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti aut inuicti [remansere?] Ipsi Vxorem Ægypti regem, qui illis bellum inferre omnium primus ausus est, tanta uirtute fugarunt, ut ultra Nili paludes exercitu atque omnibus belli impedimentis relictis impellerent Ipsi sub Lanthino, imperatore suo, Darium superarunt Idanthysus item Scythia, domita Asia, in Ægyptum usque excurrit Asiam mille quingentis annis uectigalem habuerunt Nomades Scenitæ [?] Bactrianam Græcis abstulere Zopirona, Alexandri Magni ducem, uictum e suis finibus abegerunt, Seruorum exercitum flagellis et bacillis ut olim Romani subegerunt Romanorum audiuere, non sensere arma Ac non solum uiri inter Scythas, uerum etiam foeminae magnam ex bellis gloriam reportarunt Nam cum aliquando ad foeminas deuenisset, mirum est quanta uirtute atque animi fortitudine decertarint Nam Thomyris, Amazonum regina, solertissimo belli consilio ducentos mille Persas montium angustijs inclusos instructis insidijs trucidauit, et Cyrum Persarum regem captum in crucem egit, cuius exectum caput utri pleno sanguine includi iussit cum hac exprobratione "Satia," inquit, "te sanguine quod sitisti" Sarmatæ maximam Tauricæ Chersonesi partem armis obtinuerunt, cui nomen parua Scythia [sic] indiderunt Cuius incolæ Scythotauri dicti sunt, quos memoriæ proditum est aduenas Dianæ pro hostijs immaniter cædere consueuisse Atque ad hanc usque diem uel ueteres Scythæ uel Sarmatæ uel qui ab ijs orti sunt, Tartari et Mongoli, et præ cæteris Turcæ nihil prope conati sunt, nihil susceperunt, quod cum magna sui nominis dignitate ex uoto atque ex sententia non perfecerint Quod utinam fecisset Deus ne cum tanto Christianæ Reip damno orbis uniuersus experimento comperisset Nam Turcæ ab Otthomano Turcarum stirpis capite ad Amurathem, cuius ego fui seruus inter medijs reges bellica uirtute orbem prope dimidium occuparunt.

Sabell En
nea 6 lib 6

Diod Sic
Rerum ant 9
lib 3 cap 11

Ptol lib 5
cap 1 tab 1
Asia

Rod Gonsal

Sabellus,
ibid

Just lib 2
Just lib 1

Strabo
Geogr lib 15

Just lib 1

Diod Sic
Rer antiq
lib 1 cap 3
Sabell En
nea 9, lib 6
Just lib 2

APPENDIX B

TEXTS FROM MONSERRATE'S LOST BK II QUOTED BY COL F WILFORD

The texts from Monserrate's writings quoted by Col F Wilford will prove that the MS in his possession was different from the one here edited

At the risk of being taken to task for the length of this appendix, I must quote Monserrate's passages together with Wilford's context. As for Wilford's theories, I do not comment on them. It, in the case of a passage (*mv* No 6) I reproduce at some length Wilford's views on ancient traces of Christianity in North India, it is because they are so interesting when compared with Monserrate's

1 *Asiatick Researches*, VI (1799), pp 406-497, Art. *On Mount Caucasus*

[496] The *Parapomiscan* hills, or at least part of them, are called also *Parnassus*, and *Parnassus*, in DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, PRISCIAN, and F AVIENUS. This last appellation has been supposed to be only a corruption, or contraction from the first. But the difference is so great, that, in my humble opinion, these are really two different denominations of the same mountainous tract at least, or part of it. These mountains are in general called *Devanica* in the Hindu sacred books, because they were full of *Devas* or gods, and holy *Rishis* and *Bráhmens*, who are emphatically called the gods of the earth, or *Bhu-devas*. They lived, according to the *Puranas* in bowers or huts, called *Parnasulas* or *Parnasas*, because they were made of leaves, for such is the Sanscrit expression, whilst we should say, built with twigs and branches. Indeed the leaves are the most conspicuous part, because in India when dry, they generally adhere still to the boughs they grew upon. The most celebrated amongst these *Parnásas* was that of the famous *Attri*, whose history is closely connected with that of the *British* islands and other western regions. It was situated on an insulated hill, called in the *Puranas* *Meru*, and by the *Greeks* *Meros*. It is supposed by the Hindus to be a splinter from the larger *Meru*,¹ and that the gods come and reside upon it occasionally. Its situation was ascertained by the late Mr FOSTER by my friend MIRZA MOGUL BEG, and by P MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor AKBAR in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581. It [497] is called to this day *Mer-coh* and *Mar-coh*, or the mountain of *Mer* or *Meru*, for in the spoken dialects, they often say *Mer* for *Meru*, and in the *Treloci-darpana*, we constantly read *Mer* for *Meru*. It is on the road between *Perishowar* and *Jalulabad*, and about twenty-four miles from the latter, on the banks of the *Landi-Sindh* or *Camel* river. It is now a bare rock, the river which formerly ran to the south of it, having carried away all the earth from the lower parts, and the earth above being no longer supported, was also washed away by the rains. From its dismal appearance, it was called *Bé-doulal* by the Emperor HUMAYUN. It looks like a single stone, without any fissure. It extends from the west to the east. It rises abruptly from the plain in which it stands, from the bottom to the top, P MONSERRAT reckons about 2000 feet, and it is about six furlongs in length. Its distance from the nearest hill is about three miles. The ground to the south and east is marshy, being the old bed of the river. To the west are seen several triangular entrances into caves. To the east at the distance of three miles, is a wretched village, called *Bissour* or *Bissowly* (*Bussowul* in Major RENNELL's map), which about two hundred years ago was a pretty large town. To the west are the villages of *Ambárcánd* and *Battercôte*, close to which NÁDIRSHÁH encamped, and as

¹ Cf F WILFORD, *As Res*, VIII, (1805), p 315

there is no other encamping ground near this place for a numerous army, we may safely conclude this to be the very spot on which ALEXANDER encamped near the town of *Nysa*, which extended all round the mountain Besides, his camp was near the sepulchres of the inhabitants, which were to the west of the mountain "1

- 2 *Asiatick Researches*, VIII (1805), pp 322-324 Art *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West*

[322] From *Mána-Sarovara*, or, according to the vulgar pronunciation, *Mán-saraur*, the lake of *Mána* or *Mánasa*, issues the *Ganges* According to PURÁN-GIR, who accompanied the late LAMA to *China*, and had seen that lake in his way from *Lassa* to *Ládac*, it is called in *Tibet*, *Chu-Mápanh*, or the lake of *Mápanh* In the LAMA's map it is called *Mapama* but PURÁN-GIR, a well-informed man, assured me that its name was *Mápanh* It was probably written at first *Mapam* by *Portuguese Jesuits*, in whose language the letter M, at the end of a word, has a nasal sound, as it had in *Latin*, and is to be sounded like the letter N at the end of a word in French

[324] The lake of *Man-saraur* is mentioned in PLINY, as I observed before, and it is probably the same that is mentioned by CTESIAS, who says that it was eight hundred *stadia* in circumference M POLO describes it as to the west of *Tibet*, but does not mention its name It is noticed by P MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581 He calls it *Mánsaraur*, and, from the report of pilgrims, places it in thirty-two degrees of latitude north, and about three hundred and fifty miles to the north-east of *Serhind* 2 The first *European* who saw it, was P ANDRADA in the year 1624, 3 and in the years 1715 and 1716, it was visited by the missionaries P DESIDERIUS, and EMANUEL FREYER [read Freyre] 4

- 3 *Ibid*, pp 327-328

The *Indus* was supposed formerly to have its source not far from *Mán-sarovara*, [328] which P MONSERRAT places in thirty-two degrees of latitude north, and the source of the *Indus* in latitude $32^{\circ} 15'$, the difference of longitude between the source and the lake $1^{\circ} 45'$

The difference of longitude between *Delhi*, and *Manasarovara* is according to MONSERRAT $5^{\circ} 12'$ This places *Mánsarovara* in $82^{\circ} 2'$ of longitude, and both its longitude and latitude are remarkably correct but what is more surprising, the good father was ignorant that the *Ganges* issued from it 5 ABUL FAZIL places the source of the *Indus* nearly in the same latitude with *Cashmír*, but eighteen degrees to the eastward 6

- 4 *Asiatick Researches*, IX (1807), p 52 Art *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West, with other Essays*

In a short dissertation on Alexander's itinerary Wilford writes

1 Compare with *Mong Legat Comm*, fol 83a-84a

2 Cf *Mong Legat Comm*, foll 4b, 116b

3 This is not at all proved Rather the contrary Cf on the lake seen by Fr Antonio de Andrade, S J, C WESSELS, S J, *Antonio de Andrade*, reprinted from *De Studiën*, Nijmegen, LCG Malmberg, Jaargang XX [1912], LXXVII, Afl No 4, p 22

4 It appears from CARLO PUINI'S *Il Tibet secondo la relazione del P Ippolito Desideri (1715-1721)*, Roma, 1904, that Desideri did not pass near Lake *Mánsarovar* He does not mention it

5 Wilford is himself making a mistake here, unless he means the *Brahmaputra*, the course of which is not yet satisfactorily known

6 The same calculations can be made from Monserrate's table of longitudes and latitudes in *Mong Legat Comm* foll 3a-4b The longitude of *Delhi* in *Mong Leg Comm* is clearly $115^{\circ} 58'$, not $115^{\circ} 48'$, as Wilford must have read in his MS

Hence [from *Relas* or *Raylas*], to the ferry over the *Jailam*, or *Behat*, and *Alexandria-Bakhtalos*, near which is a famous peak, called the mountain of the elephant by *Plutarch* (*Dionysius*). Its present name is *Bal Bil*, or *Pil* which, in Persian, signify an elephant. It is roads all over the western parts of India for its holiness, and its being the abode of numerous penitents. The chief of whom, as well as the deity of the place, is called *BAI NATH* or *BIR-NATH*. It is generally called *BAI NATH-TIMIR* or the mountain of the Lord *BAI*. Another name for it is *Jagat Lal-tower* or the tower of the *Jagat*.

[The reference to Monserrate is doubtful. Monserrate is not mentioned. He speaks of *Balnathque* thik. at fol. 61r. 3 of our MS., and the anonymous commentator wrote in the margin 'Balnath ke thik. Thilth [Thilth?—grass mound]'. The similarity of orthography between the anonymous commentator in *Mong. Legat Comm.* and Wilford may be a mere coincidence. I may mention here that Wilford was in correspondence with the College of Fort William. On July 15th, 1805, the Council of Fort William ordered "that the thanks of the College be communicated to Capt. Francis Wilford for the valuable manuscripts in the Shanscrit language presented by him to the College of Fort William." Cf. *Asiatic Annual Register for 1806*, London, 1806, or *Bengal Occurrences*, p. 25. Did Wilford, after all, present Monserrate's *Mongol Legat Comm.* to Fort William College about this time?]

5. *Asiatic Annals*, IX (1807), pp. 57-58. Art. *An Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West, or the Isles of the Ancients*.

Father Monserrate, who accompanied the Emperor *Acbar* in his expedition to *Cabul*, says that that Emperor paid the greatest attention to the measurements of the roads during his march, and that instead of a common rope, he substituted *Bamboos*, joined together by iron links. He then says that there were twenty six and one fourth, of these *Cos* to [58] one degree. Each *Cos* consisted of course of 1,011.77 feet or 1627.26 yards.¹

6. *Asiatic Researches*, IX (1807), pp. 211-215. Art. *Varanaditya and Sahialana*.

This account of *SALAHASA'S* Dynasty at *Dilli* and at so late a period, however strange, is not entirely groundless. *TUFTENHALL* in his account of *Subah Dilli* mentions two kings of that name, on [212] the authority of some Persian writers, whom he does not name. I saw the good old man, at *Tatlo*, in the year 1784. He was a man of austere manners, and incapable of deceit. His list of the Kings of the *Tomara* and *Chohan* tribes at *Dilli* has certainly much affinity with those in the *Tarikh-i-Jahiri* (vol. 2, p. 62) and the *Kholassayul Iawari* and *FIRISHA'S* account of the *Subhas* of *India* are most likely the sources from which the good father draw his information, but as these tracts are not at present within my reach, I cannot ascertain this point.

The *Bhats*, or *Bhatties*, who live between *Dilli* and the *Panjab*, insist that they are descended from a certain king, called *SATYAHAYA*, who had three sons, *BHAT*, *MAVA*, or *MOYE*, and *THAMAZ*, or *THAMAZ*. *MOYE* settled at *Pattyalch*, and either was a *Thanoor* or *Thacom*, or had a son thus called. When *AMIR TIMUR* invaded *India*, he found, at *Togloepoor*, to the N-W. of *Dilli* a tribe called *Soloun* or *Salaan* who were *Thanoors* or *Mancheans*, and these he ordered to be massacred, and their town to be burned (*DUGUIGNES History of the Huns*, vol. 5,

¹ Cf. *Mong. Legat Comm.*, fol. 45a. 1 on the 'decempeda'. There is no allusion there to bamboos joined by iron links.

p 50)¹ ŚĀLIVĀHANA is generally pronounced ŚĀLWAN and Śālbān in the west, and NIEBUHR calls him SHAH-LEWAN

The MANICHEANS were Christians, and when FATHER MONSERRAT was at *Dillī*, at the court of ACBAR, he was informed, that near that metropolis, and to the S-W of it, and of course at *Toglockabad*, near the palace of PITHAURA, the usual residence of the ancient kings of that city, there were certain tombs, which were asserted to be those of some ancient princes of *Dillī*, who were Christians, and lived a little before the invasion of the Musulmans² If these tombs really [213] existed, they did not belong to the Hindus, who never erect any, they could hardly belong to the Musulmans, for it is scarcely possible that they should be mistaken by Musulmans, since the tombs of those among them, who fell in battle, or otherwise died, in the beginning of their invasions, are looked upon as places of worship, and those entombed there are considered, either as martyrs, or saints In speaking of the tombs, and other monuments or events in *India*, FATHER MONSERRAT says, with much candour, 'I was told so in that country,' or 'I was assured of it by respectable persons, but whether it be so or not, I cannot further say' He explains himself in these terms, with regard to thirteen figures, in basso relievo, upon the rocks of *Gwahor*, which he visited in his way from *Surat* to *Dillī*, and which were supposed, by Christians in *India*, to represent our Saviour and his twelve disciples, one figure in the middle being a little higher than the rest MONSERRAT says, that they were so much defaced, that no inference could be drawn from them, except their being thirteen in number (p 164)³ The foregoing particulars, concerning the *Bhats*, ŚĀLIVĀHANA and his three sons, I obtained from an intelligent native, whom I sent to survey the countries to the N-W of *Dillī* He was employed, on that service, from the year 1786 till 1796, and, in the year 1787, he was in the country of the *Bhats* His instructions were, to inquire particularly into the geographical state of these countries, and, whenever he could find an opportunity to make inquiries also into their history and antiquities At that time I knew very little about ŚĀLIVĀHANA, and was still less interested in his history, and of course that ancient prince was not mentioned to him, and the knowledge which he obtained, concerning him, among the *Bhats*, was merely accidental, and by no means in consequence of any previous directions from me⁴

[214]. The Heresy of the *Manicheans* spread all over the western parts of *India*, and into *Ceylon*, at a very early period, in consequence of violent persecutions in Persia, during which the followers of MANES fled, in great numbers, and at different times, into *India* and it is even highly probable, that MANES remained a long time concealed in that country, in the fort of *Arabion*, on the eastern banks of the river *Strangha*, now called *Chitrang* and *Caggar* The *Mesopotamia* here mentioned by ARCHELAUS the Bishop, is the five *Antarvédīs*, or *Mesopotamias* of the *Panjāb*, commonly called the five *Bhédīs* or *Bhedies*, and STRABO, speaking of the *Bhed*, or *Antarvédīs*, between the *Chināb* and the *Jellam*, says, "in this *Mesopotamia*," and here the pronoun *this* has an obvious reference to the several *Bhedīs* or *Mesopotamias* of the *Panjāb* This river *Strangha* is called *Saranges* by ARRIAN, and the *Chitrangh*, flowing from the northern

¹ For Monserrate's theory that there were Christian Kings at Delhi in Timūr's time, cf *Mong Legat Comm*, fol 129b 5-130a 1 2 3

² Cf *Mong Legat Comm*, fol 23a 1, 26a 2, where these tombs are not, however, alluded to Still, I do not doubt, that Monserrate mentioned them in the MS which was in Wilford's possession Monserrate does not say in our MS that Delhi was Akbar's court, nor does he state that Akbar resided at Delhi The information he received must have been obtained while he passed through Delhi on his way to and from Afghanistan

³ Cf *Mong Legat Comm*, fol 17b The pagination in Wilford's MS (p 164) does not agree with that in ours

⁴ It is important to note that Wilford had learned prudence and circumspection after he had found out how some Brahman Pandits had shamelessly deceived him in other points of research Cf *As Res*, VIII, 247 sqq

hills, passes to the westward of *S'thānu-sar* or *Thānu-sar*, at some distance from which the water is absorbed by the sands, yet the vestiges of its ancient bed may be traced as far as Bacar on the Indus. The report of my native surveyor, concerning this river, is also confirmed by the report of GENERAL THOMAS, in his *Memoirs* (p 164). There were *Bhats*, or *Bhattis*, in that country long before the arrival of MANES, for PTOLEMY, in the beginning of the third century takes notice, in that country, of two considerable towns, obviously denominated after them. The first is *Bata-nagra*, or *Bhat-nagara*, the town of the *Bhats*. *Bhat-neri* is the vulgar pronunciation of it, but the present town of *Bhat-neri* is not the same with the *Bhat-nagara* of PTOLEMY, which was to the westward of the river *Bevah*, and is probably the town called *Bhat tvalch*. The other place mentioned by PTOLEMY is *Batan-cai-sera*, a compound [215] name, and in the true idiom of the Hindi language, *Bhatton-ki-sara*, or *Bhatton-ca-sara*, the pool of the *Bhats*. From the situation assigned to it by PTOLEMY, I suppose it to be the same place which is called *Bhattinda*, to the N-N-E of *Bhat-neri*. The *Bhattis* are shepherds, and various tribes of them are found in the Panjab, and they also inhabit the high grounds to the East of the *Indus*, from the sea to *Uch*. These tribes are called *Ashambhctty* in the *Ayin-Acbari*, but several well-informed men, who had long resided in that country say, that the true pronunciation is *Acsham-Bhatti*, which implies the many troops, or bands, of the *Bhattis*, because they go by troops, selected from various tribes or families.

MANES gave himself out as the CHRIST, and had also twelve disciples, and, in the character of Christ, he became ŚĀLIVĀHANA in India. He had three disciples, exalted above the rest, and their names were BUDDA or ADDAS, HERMAS or HERMIAS, and THOMAS, which I conceive to be the same with BHAT, MAYA or MOYE, and THAIMÁZ or THÁMÁZ, the supposed sons, or rather disciples, of ŚĀLIVĀHANA. In the seventh century, there were Christians at *Serinda*, or *Ser-Hind*, with a monastery and two monks from that place, at the command of the Emperor JUSTINIAN carried silk-worms or rather their eggs, to *Constantinople*.¹

[216] The compiler of the list, brought from Assam by the late DR WADE, was well informed, with regard to the last blow given to this dynasty of *Manicheans*, by AMIR-TIMUR, in the remains of a feeble tribe of them, at *Toglock poor*. But it is much more reasonable, I think, to place the overthrow of that dynasty in the latter end of the twelfth century.²

¹ Wells Williams (*The Middle Kingdom*, 4th edn, New York, 1871, II 290), thinks that the two monks, probably Nestorians, who brought eggs of silk worms to Constantinople in 552, came from China, where they had resided and which they were not the first nor the only ones to have evangelized. According to Priault *Indian Embassies to Rome*, 126, an embassy, said to be Indian, and bringing gifts to the Emperor Justinian, reached Constantinople in 530. Cf C MABEL DUFF, *The Chronology of India* Westminster, Constable 1899, p 40. Fr Felix (*Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra for the year 1908*, App., p 24) writes in the same way as Wilford. "[The existence of Christians in Northern India] is moreover corroborated by what we read in Zonare, *Life of Justinian*, that there was in Serhinda or Serinda (Punjab) in the sixth century A.D., a seminary for the Christians, and that two monks from that place, at the command of the Emperor Justinian, brought silk worms and eggs to Constantinople." He refers to *Recherches historiques sur les peuples anciens* par L'ABBE DES-ROCHES, p 835.

² This discussion on Manes and the Manicheans runs on till p 219. It occupies also a large part of F Wilford's *Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India* in *Asiatick Researches*, X (1808), pp 69 sqq, especially p 71. At p 218, *As Res*, IX, p 218 there is question again of the list brought by the 'late' Dr Wade from Assam, according to which there appeared towards the latter end of the 9th century another Śālivāhana in the country about Delhi.

Wilford, a man whose erudition was beyond question, is bewildering in his accumulation of facts and names, and the lack of proper references makes it almost impossible to check his utterances. The impression produced on most of his readers is that he is extravagant in his theories. I do not speak here of his earlier studies, when he was imposed upon by some native Pandits, but of the later ones, such as those referred to here, and I am often inclined to think that in many matters Wilford is ahead even of our own times. The pity is that no

7. *Asiatick Researches*, XI (1810), p 73, Art *Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West*

The town of Sám̄ba is very little known to us, and even to the natives. It is mentioned, however, by Father MONSERRAT, who accompanied the Emperor ACBAR in his expedition to *Cabul* in the year 1581. The emperor, and his army, passed in sight of Sám̄bá, which was then garrisoned by his troops, and MONSERRAT places it 13 minutes of long to the east of *Jummoo*, and 21 minutes, or geographical miles, to the north of it. It cannot be far from the *Chináb*¹

one has tackled this subject of early Christianity in Northern India, either in proof or disproof of Wilford's statements

I do not see on what authority Wilford asserts that Manes was called S'álvāhana. What is extraordinary is that the man whom Wilford sent into the country of the Bhats should have mentioned the names of three sons of one S'álvāhana, one of whom at least, Thaimāz or Thamāz, a name an Indian in appearance, is identical in form with that of Thomas, one of Manes' disciples. The identification of Bhat with Budda or Addas, and of Maya or Moye with Hermias or Hermas is less convincing.

It is true that in Tīmūr's time there were at Tughlīkpur near Delhi, and in many parts of India, e.g., at Bhatnūr, Mirat, Nagarkot, in the Sawalīk Hills and Kashmīr, people called Gabrs, Magi (*sanawīya*), or Sālūn. Sometimes these Gabrs seem to be confounded with the Hīndūs as infidels, but, in many places they are clearly distinguished from them and represented as worshipping two gods, one called Yazdān, the other Ahriman, whom they typified by light and darkness. They supposed all good to proceed from the one, and all evil from the other. Cf. ELLIOTT's *Hist. of India*, s.v. Gabrs, (especially in the *Zafar-nāma*), III, 497. In the *Malfūzāt*¹ *Tīmūrī* we find "From the information supplied to me I learned that these people were called *Sanawī* (fire worshippers). Many of this perverse creed believe that there are two gods. One is called Yazdān, and whatever they have of good, they believe to proceed from him. The other god they call Ahriman, and whatever sin and wickedness they are guilty of they consider Ahriman to be the author of." (Cf. ELLIOTT, *ibid.*, III 431.) Many of these men had been expelled from Khurasan (*ibid.*, V Note C. *On fire worship in India*, pp 559-570).

Whether these people were Zoroastrians or Manicheans is not settled. We do not expect, however, that Pārsīs should have been settled so far inland in large communities, as were those of the Sanawīs. Even if the Sanawīs or Gabrs were Manicheans, it could scarcely have been appropriate to call them Christians. If it be suggested that, in Monserrate's time the term Gabrs was sometimes applied by Muhammadāns to Christians (cf. *ibid.*, V 562 n. 4), whence Monserrate might have concluded to the existence of Christians in Tīmūr's time, we answer that he identifies the Gabrai or Gabrs with the Pārsīs, whom he is inclined to identify in turn with the Jews (fol. 8a. r). Yet, it would seem that it is these very Gabrs who have been taken for Christians by later writers than Monserrate. Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo writes in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, pp 175-176: "Circa annum 1209 quo Gīnghīs Chan Tibeti regnum invasit, adhuc ducentum circiter millia Christianorum in regno Tibeti, in Turkestan, in Corasan, atque in Indica urbe Cabul, Cashemir, et Lahur versabantur. Gīnghīs-Chano successit Timur in India circa annum 1409, promovendae sectae Muhamedanae ardore flagrantissimus. Is a[b] hominum memoria omnium crudelissimus uno decreto, et una fere hora centum circiter mille Indos indigenas, inter quos non pauci Christiani ad urbem Delhy in India interfecit. Vide *Histoire de Timur-Bec, Ecrite en Persan par Cherefuddin-Aly, traduite en François par Mr Petit de la Croix* tom III Cap 18, pag 89-90." The reference to the last author is properly Tom II, Bk IV, ch. XVII (A D 1398), where we find the term "Guebres".

For the existence of a Christian King at Delhi, named David, Monserrate quotes the authority of St. Antoninus, *Pars III Summae Historiarum*. All I can say is that our Indian historians know no such king, in Tīmūr's or Chīnghīz Khan's time. Cf. J A S B, 1912, p 207, n. 11. See, however, Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, I 175, text and n. 2, where Eccard, *Corpus Historic* II 1451, mentions a Christian king of the Tartars, called David.

The following bibliographical references from de Leon Pinelo's *Epitome de la Bibl. Oriental*, Madrid, 1737 I Cols 51-52, would point to some of "those reports of Prester John circulated throughout Europe, and surviving in many continental libraries" (YULE, *loc. cit.*, I 175). "Maestro Jacobo, Obispo Achorense, Carta à Valtero Villaviense, e los Hermanos de Ogmes de lo que sucedió a los Christianos en la Tierra Santa, e de los prosperos, e casi increíbles Sucesos del Rei de los Indios David, que Juan de Viago llama Preste Juan, MS está en la Libreria de Leida, segun su Catologo, fol. 375.

"Carta de David, Rei de la India, despues de la Historia Hierosolimitana, MS en la misma Libreria, e por el mismo Jacobo, fol. 327." Compare also the next number with Yule, *ibid.*, I, 175, n. 3. Nearly the whole of de Leon Pinelo's vol I cols 51-52 is devoted to curious accounts of this mysterious Prester John.

¹ Samba is mentioned in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*, foll. 4b, 62a. 1, 2.

8 *Istakch Researches*, XIV (1822), p. 451, Art. *On the Ancient Geography of India*

The *Portuguese* maps exhibit only four rivers on that coast [of Arakan]—that of *Cha'ganh*, the *Chicora* to be pronounced *Khecoria*, the river and gulf of *Ramca*, and the river of *Irācan*. The gulf of *Ramca*, now called the bay of *Cruzcoot*, has a considerable river, that falls into it, called *Miscolley*, after which is denominated the opposite island, but called by our seafaring Men this appellation being more familiar to them—but in the *Portuguese* maps, there is no name affixed to it. The name of the island to the north of this is *Cuccura-da-rpa*, but in the spoken dialects *Cuccu n a* or *Cuccu dia*, or the island of dogs. In these dialects a dog is generally called *Cuca*—and from *Cuca da-rp* I suspect they have made *Cutub-dea*. There is a place in it called *Cubena-hissena*, which, the pilots say, signifies *Dog swimming Creek*. It is called *Oogera-rpa* by LINDSEHOR in his map of India, and *Cuccuridua* by F. MONSERRAT.¹

9 *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XX (1852), p. 242, Art. *Essay on the Ancient Geography of India*

D. H. Belot says, that Debul (or Dathā) [in the Delta of the Indus] was besieged in vain by Solimān the second King of Persia, but I find no such king in the history of that country.

In the latter end of the reign of Akbar, it was besieged by his general Khan Khanan with a numerous army, the siege lasted six months, but after a most obstinate resistance it was taken. This town could not have been the present Thātthā which could not have held out so long—but it was Dathā, or Debul, which was so strong, on account of its insular situation. It was called Shih-bandar, or the royal emporium, in honour of Akbar. In some old *Portuguese* maps, it is simply called Bandel for Bandar—and in Father Monserrat's map of India it is placed, exactly half way, between the mouth of the western branch of the Indus and Thātthā.² The denomination Shih-bandar seems to be unknown to Hindu pilgrims, and is used only by Muslims—who never use that of Nagar-Thātthā, except when applied to Thātthā.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248

In the bay [opposite the Delta of the Indus] there are several small rocky islets, three of which are particularly noticed by pilgrims, the largest is called *Rama-Zaroca*, or the observatory, or watching place of Rama Chandra, who erected a *Zaroca* upon it. *Jaroc'ha*, or rather *Dzroc'ha*, in Sanskrit *Jalica*, is a latticed window, for the sake of observing, what is going on abroad, also a peeping hole. By the *Zaroc'has* of Rāma, Rāshim'na, etc., the pilgrims understand certain mounds, or raised platforms, either natural or artificial, for the above purpose, and in this sense it is synonymous with *Sarungah* in Persian. According to Father Monserrat, the largest of these islets was called *Can clo* by the *Portuguese*—and the three principal ones *Monaras*, or the turrets, from the Arabic *Minara*, and opposite to them is a small branch of the Indus. He does not say positively that he had been there himself, but I believe that this was the case. The several passages relating to this place stand thus, '*Canthi Naustathmus sorgi douro [su] d'as Monaras, statio pro turribus dicitur juxta Monaras. Canthi Naustathmus stationi respondet scopulorum, qui pro Indi hostio eminent, et vulgo dicitur Monaras, h. (hoc est) tures vel pyramides ab Arabibus accepto vocabulo*

"Extra ostium Indi insule Chryse et Argyre necubi apparent. Emmet tamen, nostrā

¹ In an autograph MS. of the author, in my possession. The *Padre* wrote about the year 1590 in the prisons of SPANA in *Arabia*. [F. W.]—There is no parallel passage in *Mong. Legat. Comm.*

² It is similarly marked in the map of *Mong. Legat. Comm.*

memoriâ, deserta quædam insula et perevigua, quam vocant *Cameli*, ex adverso hosti amnis sed ea saxum ingens, exors auri argentique " Here the words *nostrâ memoriâ* are, in my opinion, to be rendered, *I recollect etc*, and imply, that he had been there¹ The original MS is in my possession

The bay was called Rio de Pilotes, or the Pilot river by the Portuguese, who had always some of them stationed there, in order to conduct their ship over the *bars* of the Indus, and their ships remained there at anchor, waiting for a proper opportunity, and it is called for that reason *Naustathmus* by Ptolemy This place is styled the harbour of *Hermes* by Hayton the Armenian, who mistakes [248] Rama for Hermes, an ancient sage It is designated also by the appellation of Ram, in the treaties of peace concluded between Nadir Shâh, and the emperor of India, and by that of Ramgar, *Coyâr*, or Couhbâr in the *Avin-Acheri* Our pilgrims, having visited in a boat the *Zerocâ* of Ram, cross over to the other side of the bay, and after a march of eight or nine cos, about 15 or 17 miles, they arrive on the banks of the river *Hab*, which they cross, dress their food, and sleep there There is about one foot of water in it, during the dry season, its bed is broad, and it is a pretty large river during the rains Its bed is full of large rounded stones called *Gallets* by Buffon Its current is rapid, and makes a considerable noise among the stones It was called *Ab-Indos* by the Portuguese, and in some maps *Obandos*, or the Indian *Hâb*, and by Father Monserrat *Ab Indorum rivus* in Latin²

11 *Ibid*, p 266

From the longitude, and latitude assigned to *Câraichu* [Karâchi], and the three next mouths of the Indus by Father Monserrat,³ their respective distances are as follows —

Canthi—*naustathmus stationi, respondet Scopulorum qui pro Indi ostio eminet* This he calls also in Portuguese *Sorgidouro das monaras*, and from it to the mouth of *Sagapa* called *Barra d'Ormuz*, he reckons four nautical miles and a half thence to that called *Sinthus* or *Barra do Guzarate* nine miles to the *Aureum ostium*, or *Barra do Gemal* a little more than eighteen miles *Gemal* is probably the name of the Musulman saint, entombed on the eastern shore of the bay of Rishâl

12 *Ibid*, p 269

Father Monserrat says, that a small island, with other rocks, rises very high just before the mouth of the Indus, meaning a branch of it It is called *Camelo*,⁴ and is a large rock, and there the river runs directly east and west Those rocks, says he, from their altitude are called *Towers*, and *Monaras* (for *Minars*) by the Arabs, in whose language *Monara* (*Minâra*) signifies a tower or pyramid⁵ This station, for the shipping, is called by the Portuguese *Rio dos Pilotos* On one of these rocky islands, Alexander erected altars to *Tethys* and the Ocean, according to *Diodorus the Sicilian*

¹ Monserrate's map in *Morg. It. at Comm.* notices the island *Camelus*, '*Camelus insula*'—There is nothing to prove that M. visited the Delta of the Indus or other parts of India marked on his map, e. g. Bengal In the list of longitudes and latitudes in *Morg. It. at Comm.* he notices only the places through which he passed Now, Bengal and the Delta of the Indus are omitted there Since M. intended his Bk. II to be a treatise of geography for the whole of India it is clear that he used other materials than his own—No '*ad memoriâ*' may mean "to our own day"

² In the map of *Morg. It. at Comm.* we have *Ab Indu*

³ Karâchi is not mentioned in *Morg. It. at Comm.*, nor is there any parallel passage to what follows

⁴ *Canthi* appears also as a river in the old Portuguese maps Cf. F. WILLIORD, *ibid*, p. 258

⁵ No parallel passage in our MS

13 *Ibid*, p 271

But let us return to Nearchus, whom we left at Corestús, or Cáraichi, called also *Carcede* by the Portuguese formerly. There he had been obliged to cut through the bar, at the mouth of the river, during the tide. From this place they reached *Crocala*, after a course of 150 stadia or nine miles, but 20 Roman, or 18½ British miles, according to Pliny. It was a sandy island which, I suppose, was at the mouth of the river *Hab*, and of which I took notice before. Father Monserrat, in his MS map, says, that there was a bay at its mouth, and writes opposite to it in Spanish, *Insada dos Ib-indos capar sellada*, the last two words of which I do not understand.¹ *Crocala* is probably derived from *Colcala*, or *Corcala* in the spoken dialects, or the river of noises. This river *Hab* is the *Hyphasis* of Philostratus, who says, that it runs through a narrow bed, full of stones, and falls into the sea with a dreadful noise. This account is greatly exaggerated, as may be supposed. This *Hab* is also the river *Arabus*, or *Arbis* of Q Curtius who says, that Alexander crossed it on the fifth day from Pathala, four days after which he crossed the real *Hab* but the passage from that author is certainly obscure.

14 *Ibid*, p 473

The *Irhis* or *Arbis* is called *Carbis* by Ethicus and to this day it is denominated *Hab* and *Cab*. It is the *Cophes* of Pliny, as will appear hereafter. El Edrisi mentions the country of *Iraba*, and Father Monserrat says, that the river was called in his time *Arba*, and also *Háb*, for he takes particular notice of the Indian *Ib*, or *Hab*.¹

15 *Ibid*, XX (1852), pp 480-481

The Geography of this country [W of the Delta of the Indus] is so little known, that we cannot proceed, but with little diffidence. The old maps of the Portuguese disagree, and transpositions are constantly to be met with. This seems to be a fatality, attending all surveys of that coast, not even excepting the most recent ones, from the Gulf of Cutch toward the west. The best map, in my opinion, is that of João Teixeira, [481] Geographer to the King of Portugal, which was published in the year 1649, and is to be found in Melch Thevenot's collection of travels. It is unfortunately upon a small scale, and of course not sufficiently explicit. The river *Caorica* is the western branch of the *Hab*, more accurately delineated and placed in the map of these countries, inserted in Lindschot's travels. The next river is the *Camelo*, or *Haur* then comes a river without name to the east of the Cape *Ārubah*, which really exists according to our modern surveys. This cape is styled there, the point of islands, and the bay to the west of it, the harbour of islands, with a river at the bottom of it. Between this and Cape Guadel our author has placed three rivers *Palamate*, or *Palamen*, *Calamete* or *Calamen*, and near Cape Guadel the river of Noutagues, from a tribe of that name, called Noutagues by Manuel de Faria, and Noytagues or Novtag by Father Monserrat and this river by both, is placed to the N-E of Cape Guadel, not very far from it, and seemingly a little to the eastward of the eastern bay.² I suspect a transposition with regard to the rivers *Calamen* and *Palamen*.³ we have ascertained the situation of the river of the *Noytagues*, and there is no

¹ No parallel passage in our MS

² No parallel passage in our MS

³ For the change of *K* to *P* which might make *Palamen* equal to *Calamen*, Cf *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, pp 19, 326. We ask with much diffidence whether this *Calamen* could be the long lost *Calamina* of the Martyrologies where St Thomas the Apostle was martyred.

doubt, but, that the *Calamen* or *Calama* river is the nearest to Cape *Árubáh* the Palamen of course will fall in a little to the westward of Cape Passence, and will answer to the place called *Balonus* by Nearchus, and is probably the river *Ponamus* of Pliny, for *Polamus*. It was, says he, a navigable river on the confines of the Pandæ. This tribe is mentioned by Manuel de Faria under the name of Abindos or Obandos and they were the friends and allies of the Noytags. In another place Monserrat either calls them, or a tribe of them, Heytag,¹ and the pilot, whom Nearchus found at Mosarna in their country and who was called Hydrakes, was perhaps a Heytag. The additional R is no uncommon circumstance, thus instead of Teiz or Teasa, Lt Porter has Tearsa.

I think the Pandæ, or Bandæ of Pliny are nearer to the true pronunciation, and that the Portuguese were misled by the affinity with Abindos, a river to the East of Cape Múdán, which Monserrat calls in Latin *Ab Indorum rivus*, or the Indian *Háb*.

APPENDIX C

MONSERRATE'S MAP OF INDIA

Though Monserrate's map has been reproduced to about double the size of the original, I feel it incumbent on me to help the reader in reading Monserrate's diminutive writing, a task by no means easy to myself who dispose of the original. Throughout I shall adhere to Monserrate's spelling.

The four cardinal points can easily be read *Aquilo*, *Auster* (of which the top part is still traceable in the original), *Oriens*, *Occidēs*. The Tropic of Cancer (*Circulus Cancrī*) looks, at a first glance, as if it divided the paper into unequal portions containing disconnected parts of India.

The degrees of longitude lie between 106° and 125°, the degrees of latitude between 15° and 36°.

Monserrate used three different inks: a very dark ink for the coastlines and place-names, red ink for the rivers and their names, a brownish ink for the mountain-ranges.

Provinces—Proceeding from S to N, and W to E, the following provinces are marked: Cynca, Decā, Gusrate pars, Gedrosiæ pars, Malva prouincia, Ariæ pars, Indvstan, Arachosiæ pars, Lahvrina prouincia, Pahorapanisadis pars, Casmir in *Thubet* (written in pencil by the anonymous commentator). Both, et Bothant, Chabvl Reg[um].

Mountain Ranges—Avaz mons, Vindivs mons (W of Fathpur), Imavs (written twice), Caspsvs (written twice), Paharhvætvs, Paharopanisvs.

The mountains, not considered as ranges, will be noticed lower down in italics.

Rivers—The rivers are two rivers near Goa, a river near Tana, one near Bassain (these four are nameless), the Taphi f[lumen] near Surate, Naruada f, Machipara f, the Indus Delta and Ab Indi, Riulus Naroari flowing into the Samballus f, an affluent of the Indus (cf fol 3b), the Jamona, Jomanes f (with its tributaries Riulus Delini, Riulus Carnar) joining the Gauges at Jauza paya. The other rivers marked are all affluents of the

¹ No parallel passage in our MS

Indus Ambala f, Satanulge or Zaradrus f, Beha or Bibasis f, the Raoy passing through Lahur (nameless), the next river, which is not marked, should be the Cingaro (cf foll 3b and 61b 4), next the Nani f, an affluent of the Chenao (cf fol 62a 2), the Chenao or Sandabalis f, an affluent with the Riuulus Ruytasy of the Behet or Jehlam, the Jehlam which makes a large bend to the N W On turning the map round, one reads *Fontes Bydaspis*, i.e. the Behet or Jehlam (cf fol 62b 3) Next, Riuulus Rauadi, Riuulus Gagaris, a secondary bed of the Indus On the right bank of the Indus, the Coas f with its affluent the Suastus f

Lakes—Only one lake is marked Māsaruor lacus in Tibet Above it, Monserrate wrote in red ink *Hic dicuntur christiani habitare* To the right of the lake appears twice the letter *f*, which should mean *fluvius* These two rivers are neither the Sutlej, nor the Indus, nor the Ganges, according to Monserrate They are nowhere mentioned in the text I thought I could read near the lower *f* the name Adris [=the Raoy or Ravi, otherwise not named in the map], but, this supposition is negated by the longitude 116° 7½' assigned to the source of the Raoy (cf fol 3) hence, I propose to read [Mansar]auris f It is impossible to guess what the other river might be

East Coast, Bengal, Bihār, Oudh—Proceeding from S to N, we find Pila 1 (perhaps, Pilapo 1 ?), where the 1 would seem to stand for *insula*, unfortunately, no island is to be found in that direction and Motupalli, Repalli—places in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam—are not likely guesses Perhaps it might be “Petepolle,” for which cf the map in *Voyage van Capiteyn William Hawkins* Leyden, P Vander Aa, 1706, Vol The O above it should mean a town Next Ponta de Massulapatā, Masulapatam, Guduguri, Jagarnat, Pōta (?) das Pal-meyras, Gallorū insula [Cocks’ Island], Chandecan Going up the Hugli (not named), we meet Ragora, Bethor, Goli [Hugli], Satagam, Tanda Higher up, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamona (?) Jauza paya [Allahābād ?] The Ganges is shown as coming from the Imaus (*fontes gāgis*), and passing by Patana and Agipur, which makes us think either of the Gogra or the Gandak On the Jamona (!), to the westward Junipur [Jaunpur] North of Goli, Monserrate’s geography of Bengal, Bihar and Oudh is strikingly unsatisfactory, a proof that he did not come to Bengal These places are not marked, either, in the table of longitudes and latitudes

West Coast—Along the West Coast from Goa to the Delta of the Indus, we read to the left of the coast-line —

Goa, Xeul, Tana, Bassain, Danu, Daman, Couleca, Balsar, Nausari, Surate, Cambaet, frons & insula Dionisia [Diu], Ponta do Sul, Ponta da Jaquete do Norte, Camelus ins[ula] Within the Delta of the Indus Bandel, Tata metrop[olis]

Along the West Coast from Goa to Surate, to the right of the coast-line —

Sanqui[i]li mons, to the right of the word DE = /CĀ *Huius e regione sunt duo iuga San-guissa, Carnala*, near Xeul *Argao mons*, [Ca]ranja insula, Salseti insula, *Camon mons, Assari mons*, near Dana *Rupes fastigiata*, near Daman *Tres Cumuli*, *Paharnerā*, Gandiui, on the coast below Nausari, Bearā

From Surate to Fathpur and Agra—*Right bank of the Taphi* Cossumba, Vasara, *Left bank* Dayta, *Right bank* Cucuramunda, Peaz, Talaudha, Sultāpur, Rha, Auaz, *Left bank* Cradha, Chituarā, Brandpur, *beyond the sources of the Taphi* Piazner (?), Cendua [Sindwa]

On the *Naruada* Bamanq̄ gā [=the village of the Brahmans], Confluxus (marked by a stroke perpendicular to the river), *Left bank* Surana, *on the river* Ramamq̄ janamgam (?) [=the village of Rana’s birth]

North of the Naruada Mandhou Coius torrēs, Dectan

North of the Machupara Usen

On the Paharbatī Left bank Sannarea, *Right bank* Sarangpur

Between the Paharbatī and Riuulus Naroaris Bersea, Pimpaldar, Siurange Saddoa, Coila raz, Cypirī

Next Naroar, Varásarai, Goulher, Commariâ, Daulpur, Fathpur

From Fathpur to Qhabul Bal, Matura, Anumanth, Delinu, Sonipat, Panipat, Carnar, Tanissar, Bad, Vadus Ambalæ, indicated by a stroke perpendicular to the river, Gagaṅ sarai; *East* Satcombe.

Sarind, Pael, Machuara; *West* Ludiana and Sultanpur

Dungari, *West* Goundiuar and Gādiuá

Pachangari, *East*, near the sources of the Zaradrus Concarṅ gam

Calanur, *East* Nagarcott and Pargana peytá, *West* Lahur, Xergar

Chunigacarṅ sarai, *East*. Samba

Qhunja and Saddari, on the right bank of the Chenao or Sandabalís, *East* Mancot and Jamúdib.

Balnāt (only *Baln* legible) Ruytas (only *tas* legible)

Obeliscus Rhāchandi, opposite a triangle in pencil by the anonymous commentator

N B and a hand pointing to the obelisk

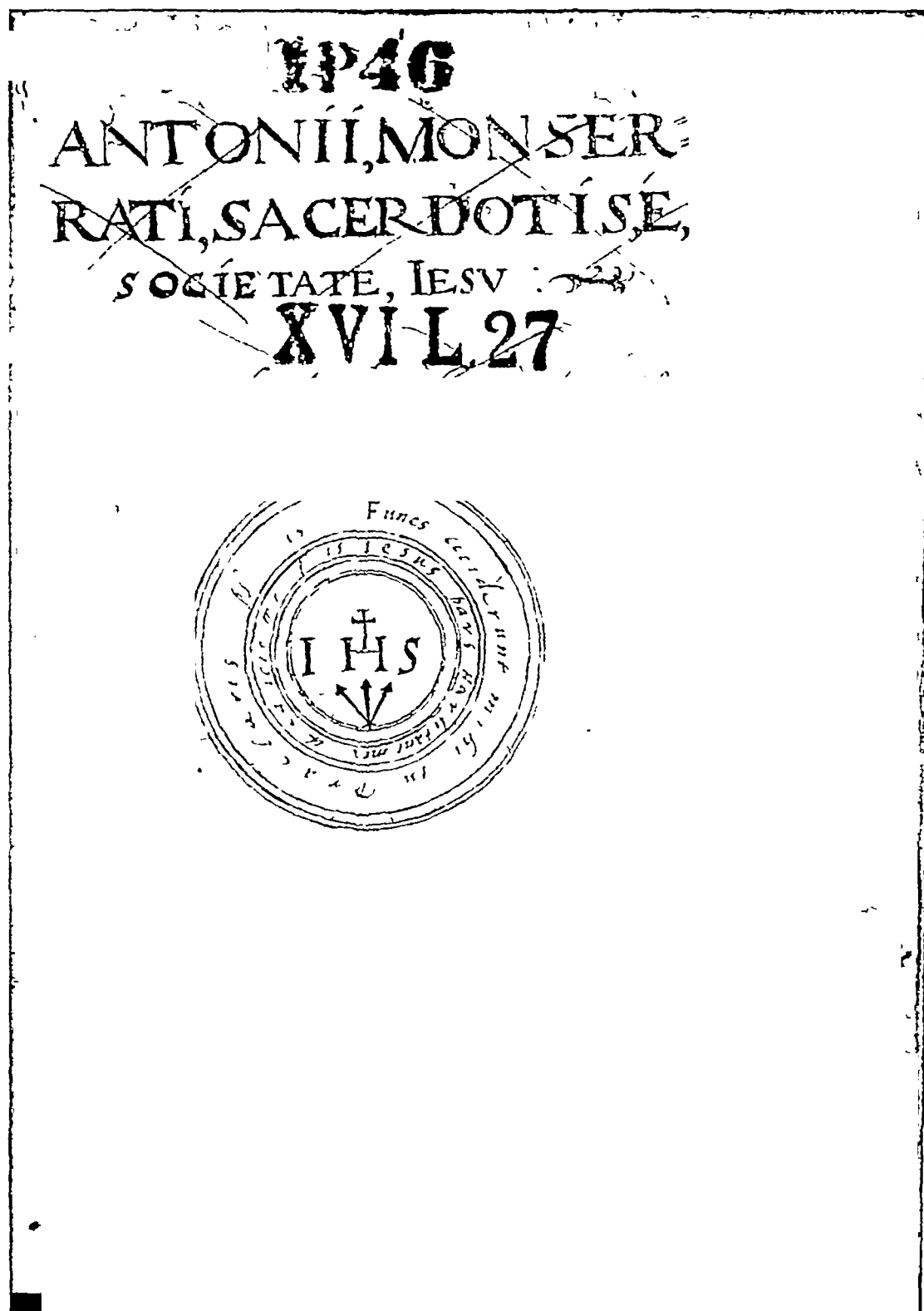
Rhauadū, Gagar, Nilabh, Azara.

On the right bank of the Coas Oppidum rixæ, Saygi, Pírxaur, Caybar gate, opposite a triangle; Caybar, Bissaur et Beedaulat, opposite a triangle, *South* Baala mons

Gelalabad, Albaric, Qhabul

THE END.

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PART II

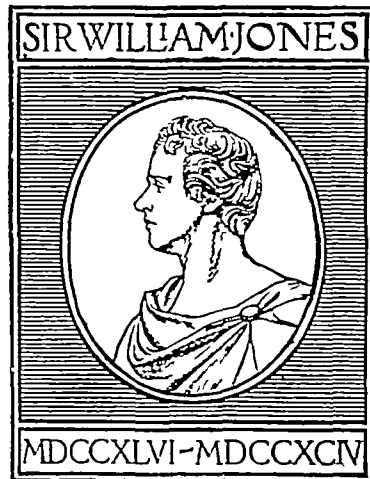
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MĪRZĀ ZŪ-L-QARNAIN,

A CHRISTIAN GRANDEE OF THREE GREAT MOGHULS, WITH NOTES ON  
AKBAR'S CHRISTIAN WIFE AND THE INDIAN BOURBONS

BY

THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S J



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# MĪRZĀ ZŪ-L-QARNAIN,

## A CHRISTIAN GRANDEE OF THREE GREAT MOGHULS, WITH NOTES ON AKBAR'S CHRISTIAN WIFE AND THE INDIAN BOURBONS

BY REV H HOSTEN, S J

### I N D E X

|                 | A           | Page          |                       | Page    |
|-----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------|
| 'Abdu l Havy    | 170 171 172 | 176, 177, 178 | Augustinians of Hugli | 146     |
| Abdu-llah (Mir) |             | 172 173 178   | Aurangzeb Ālamgīr     | 149 189 |
| Abul Fazl       |             | 170           |                       |         |

### DIRECTION FOR BINDING

This is the Index to the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol V, No 4,  
and should be bound at the end of that number

|                                       |                    |                         |   |                    |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---|--------------------|
| Alexandre, the weaver                 | 121                |                         |   | 149, 151, 155, 189 |
| 'Ali Mardan Khān                      | 164                | Bourbon, Anthony de     |   | 180                |
| "Alipy ' nationality                  | 159                | — Francis de            |   | 180                |
| Alms of Mirza                         | 140                | — house of Bhopal       |   | 178, 180           |
| 'Amal Sālih                           | 141, 190           | — John Philip de        |   | 177, 178, 179, 181 |
| Anna Dessa, Zū-l-Q 's grand-daughter  | 168,               | — Salvador de           |   | 180                |
|                                       | 169 185, 188       | — Saveille de           |   | 178, 180           |
| "Annual Letters of Goa and Cochin     |                    | — tradition             |   | 173, 176, 179      |
| (1618-24)"                            | 115, 119, 129, 130 | Bravette, Augustine     |   | 190                |
| Apostasy of many Portuguese           | 156, 158           | — Jacome                |   | 180                |
| Aquaviva Rodolfo, martyr              | 150, 151, 173, 177 | Buseo (Busi), Father    |   | 148 163 164, 166   |
| Armenian, a chapel erected by an      | 183                |                         | C |                    |
| — Fathers in Jerusalem                | 134, 135           | Cardoza Magdalen        |   | 187                |
| Armenians in India, Armenian writings |                    | Cardozo, De Sa Domingos |   | 186                |
| of the                                | 120                | — family of             |   | 188                |
| Āsaf Khān                             | 142, 145, 157      | — Frederic              |   | 189                |

## INDEX

|                                                      | <i>Page</i>                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Cardozo, João                                        | 186                                                 |
| — Manuel                                             | 189                                                 |
| Cassimīr (Kashmīr), kingdom of                       | 163, 164                                            |
| Castro, Don Matthew de, the bishop of<br>Chrysopolis | 147, 148                                            |
| — Jose de, Fr , S J                                  | 133, 136, 137,<br>141-146, 152, 167, 185            |
| Catholic cathedral, Agra                             | 183                                                 |
| Ceschi, Anthony, Fr , from Trent                     | 147, 148, 167                                       |
| Chandernagore                                        | 194                                                 |
| Chitor, capture of                                   | 178                                                 |
| Christian, a, helped in debts                        | 128                                                 |
| — poor                                               | 128, 135, 136                                       |
| — prisoners from Hughli                              | 141                                                 |
| — wife of Akbar                                      | 172                                                 |
| Christianity in India                                | 129, 133, 140, 152, 153                             |
| Christians, new converts                             | 124                                                 |
| — of Lahore, cemetery for the                        | 134                                                 |
| Circumcision of Sikandar's two sons                  | 118, 133,<br>194                                    |
| Cochin                                               | 189                                                 |
| " <i>Collegium inchoatum</i> ," see "Agra College"   |                                                     |
| Corrao (Khurram), later "Xajan"                      | 159                                                 |
| Corsi, Francis, Fr , S J                             | 115, 119, 122, 131,<br>138, 141, 143, 152, 171, 173 |

## D

|                                            |                         |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Damont, John                               | 147                     |
| Darā Xecut (Dārā Shīkoh), Shāh Jahān's son | 161                     |
| Deça, Alexander                            | 188                     |
| —— (De Sa), family of                      | 188                     |
| Delhi (Dely)                               | 146, 163, 165, 167, 168 |
| —— plunder of, 1739                        | 180                     |
| Dely, <i>see</i> Delhi                     |                         |
| Drake, John                                | 145                     |
| Dutch, Cochīn taken by the                 | 189                     |

## E

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| East, province of the (Goa)   | 129 |
| E I Co                        | 144 |
| Elamguir (Ālamgīr)            | 149 |
| Escander, <i>see</i> Sikandar |     |

**F**

|                           |          |
|---------------------------|----------|
| "Faquirs"                 | 155      |
| Fatehpur Sikri            | 173      |
| Figueredo Manoel, Fr, S J | 169, 189 |
| Finnings (Portuguese)     | 15, 157  |

|                                        |               |
|----------------------------------------|---------------|
|                                        | <i>Page</i>   |
| Foundation of Mirzā                    | 138           |
| Francis, Fathers of St , in Jerusalem, |               |
| 134, 135, in Halepo, 134, 135, in      |               |
| Bethlehem                              | 134, 135      |
| Frenchman, story of a                  | 178, 179      |
| Fridays, discipline on                 | 124, 127, 130 |

**G**

|                                                 |                                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Gaspáro, Mirzā's son                            | 146                                                 |
| General of the S J                              | 115, 131                                            |
| "Gentoo" slaves                                 | 126                                                 |
| "Gentoos" (Hindoos)                             | 124, 128                                            |
| — and "Maomettans"—(Hindoos and<br>Mohammedans) | 125                                                 |
| "Ghool-Kurneyl," (Zū-l-Qarnain ?)               | 120                                                 |
| Gioā Baptista, son of Mirzā                     | 146                                                 |
| Gladwin's Tables                                | 142                                                 |
| Goa                                             | 116, 127, 129, 134, 135, 136, 139, 149,<br>151, 172 |
| Gorepur (Gorākhpur ?)                           | 143                                                 |
| Gonsalvo, Mirzā's Christian name                | 143, 146                                            |

## H

|                                                     |                         |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Hacabar (= Akbar)                                   | 149, 150, 151, 152, 159 |
| Hafiz                                               | 170                     |
| Hai (Armenian title)                                | 190                     |
| Hakoob, <i>see</i> Yakub                            |                         |
| Halepo (Aleppo)                                     | 182                     |
| Helena, Zū-l-Qarnain's wife                         | 166                     |
| Hieronimo Xavier, <i>see</i> Xavier (Jerome)        |                         |
| Hindī songs, composed by Mīrzā                      | 131                     |
| Hindū nobleman, circumcision allowed<br>by          | 117                     |
| Holy Cross, a great miracle obtained<br>through the | 126                     |
| — places                                            | 125, 130                |
| Huglī                                               | 141, 143, 192, 194      |
| Hyrapiet, C., Armenian author                       | 119, 120, 168           |

## 1

|                                                  |              |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Idolatry                                         | 129, 130     |
| Ilena (Helena), Mīrzā's wife                     | 164          |
| India Orientale soggettata al vangelo, l'        | 129          |
| —— (Portuguese)                                  | 126, 129     |
| Inscriptions in Padres Santos' cemetery,<br>Agra | 168, 183-188 |
| Iskandar, <i>see</i> Sīkandar                    |              |
| —— Mīrzā (Junior)                                | 174          |

# INDEX

| J                                                                    | Page                                                                                                                        | L                                                      | Page                                             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Jacob from Julfa                                                     | 191, 192                                                                                                                    | Lahore                                                 | 120, 129, 147, 158, 163, 164, 167                |
| Jagat Singh                                                          | 100                                                                                                                         | — church and christians of                             | 134, 145                                         |
| Jāgir of Simbhar Zū-l-Qarnain's title                                | 116                                                                                                                         | Lahor, <i>see</i> Lahore                               |                                                  |
| Jahānārī Begam                                                       | 176                                                                                                                         | M                                                      |                                                  |
| Jahāngīr (Sūlim Jahangir, Joranguir)                                 | 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 131, 133, 143, 149, 152, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 166, 169, 173, 174, 176, 179, 192, 193 | Magdalen, the nurse and governess of Mirzā's household | 146                                              |
| Jahangir <i>see</i> Jahāngīr                                         |                                                                                                                             | Mansūr Khān Farangī                                    | 190                                              |
| Jahbeg, Mirzā's uncle                                                | 146                                                                                                                         | Manucci                                                | 121, 145, 180, 189                               |
| Jahan Givre <i>see</i> Jahāngīr                                      |                                                                                                                             | Marrat Piani                                           | 177                                              |
| Jerome (Hieronymus) Xavier, I r S J , <i>see</i> Xavier (Jerome)     |                                                                                                                             | — Toscana                                              | 181                                              |
| Jesuit Fathers malicious slander against ——— occasionally mentioned— | 174                                                                                                                         | “Marrat ki kothi”                                      | 177                                              |
| Adrade, Antonio d                                                    | 155                                                                                                                         | Marrat Makānī, Akbar's mother                          | 177                                              |
| Azevedo, d'                                                          | 143                                                                                                                         | — Zamānī (Akbar's wife ?)                              | 177                                              |
| Boves, Andre                                                         | 137                                                                                                                         | Martyrs' chapel at Agra                                | 145, 168                                         |
| Carvalho, Aleister                                                   | 139                                                                                                                         | Mary (Akbar's wife ?)                                  | 176, 177                                         |
| Goes, Benedict                                                       | 116, 173                                                                                                                    | Mendez, Alfonso Don, S J patriarch of Ethiopia         | 147                                              |
| Guerreiro                                                            | 191                                                                                                                         | Micael, Mirzā's son                                    | 146                                              |
| Machado, Antonio                                                     | 136                                                                                                                         | Mildnall John                                          | 174                                              |
| Mariucci John                                                        | 146, 147                                                                                                                    | Mir Sūlim Salathin, <i>see</i> Jahāngīr                |                                                  |
| Mascarenhas Nuno                                                     | 144                                                                                                                         | Mirzā Daniel = Michael, Zū-l-Qarnain's youngest son    | 164, 165, 166                                    |
| Mendez Manoel                                                        | 138                                                                                                                         | — Fres = Gaspar, Zū-l-Qarnain's son                    | 164, 166                                         |
| Palmeiro, Andre                                                      | 138, 140                                                                                                                    | — Observam = John Baptist, Zū-l-Qarnain's son          | 164, 166                                         |
| Prava Matthew de                                                     | 145, 155                                                                                                                    | — Scander, <i>see</i> Sikandar                         |                                                  |
| Rhodes Alexander de                                                  | 146                                                                                                                         | — Sikandar                                             | 131, 132                                         |
| Strobl A                                                             | 180                                                                                                                         | — Zulekarnū (= Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain)                     | 158-166                                          |
| Tieffenthaler                                                        | 180                                                                                                                         | — Zulekarnū (= Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain)                     | 126                                              |
| Valasco João de                                                      | 183                                                                                                                         | Missionaries, Portugal Fathers                         | 146                                              |
| Wendel                                                               | 177                                                                                                                         | Moghul (Great), 121, kingdom of the                    | 140                                              |
| Jesuit House of Agra (Agra College)                                  | 131                                                                                                                         | Mogor                                                  | 128, 130, 131                                    |
| Jesuits in East India                                                | 121, 131, 172                                                                                                               | — kings                                                | 166                                              |
| Joranguir (Jahāngīr), <i>see</i> Jahāngīr                            |                                                                                                                             | — (Mogol) mission                                      | 115, 124, 126, 129, 131, 147, 152, 165, 177      |
| Jogin woman converted                                                | 129                                                                                                                         | Mogor's royal palace                                   | 125                                              |
| 'Jogues'                                                             | 155                                                                                                                         | Monserate, Antonio de                                  | 150, 151                                         |
| Jubilee indulgence                                                   | 120                                                                                                                         | Morando Francis, Mirzā's chaplain                      | 141, 146, 147, 154, 156, 159, 160, 161, 162, 166 |
| Juhana “Mirzā Scander's” wife                                        | 132                                                                                                                         | Mirza Zulekarnū (= Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain)                 | 124, 125, 126                                    |
| — (Dias da Costa)                                                    | 173, 181                                                                                                                    | Mukarrab Khān, conversion of                           | 121                                              |
| — Philip de Bourbon's wife                                           | 173, 177, 179                                                                                                               | Murmugaō                                               | 147                                              |
| — (Bibi Juhana)                                                      | 171-178                                                                                                                     | N                                                      |                                                  |
| K                                                                    |                                                                                                                             | Nādiru-z-Zamān, painter                                | 170                                              |
| Khurram (Shāh Jahān)                                                 | 174, 176                                                                                                                    | Narwar, residence of the Indian Bourbons               | 180                                              |
| Khusrū Jahāngīr's rebellious son                                     | 120                                                                                                                         | Nasiruddin Humayon                                     | 191                                              |
| Khvāja ‘Abdu l-Hayy                                                  | 171, 172                                                                                                                    | Neophytes                                              | 124, 125                                         |
| — Martinus                                                           | 167                                                                                                                         | Noti, S Father S J                                     | 178, 181                                         |
| Kinrud Col                                                           | 173, 176, 177, 179, 180                                                                                                     |                                                        |                                                  |



| O                                                  |                                                          | Page |                                                        |                                                                                           | Page |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Ogoly (Hugli)                                      |                                                          | 156  | "Saracens"                                             |                                                                                           | 127  |
| Orphan girls, widows and marriage dow-<br>ries for |                                                          | 134  | Saturday and Sunday meetings                           |                                                                                           | 127  |
| P                                                  |                                                          |      | Scander = Sikandar                                     |                                                                                           | 122  |
| Pādīshāh-nama                                      | 142 (footnote)                                           |      | Shāh 'Alam                                             | 175, 177, 189, 191                                                                        |      |
| Padres Santos' cemetery at Agra                    | 167, 180,<br>181, 183, 188, 194                          |      | — Jahān (Xajan, Sachajan)                              | 141-147, 172,<br>176, 179, 189                                                            |      |
| Palmer, E H, Prof                                  | 189                                                      |      | Shujā Sultān                                           | 146                                                                                       |      |
| Patna, commercial mission to                       | 144                                                      |      | Sikandar Mīrzā, junior (Scandar)                       | 181                                                                                       |      |
| Paul V, Pope                                       | 120                                                      |      | — senior (Scander, Iskander, Alex<br>ander)            | 115-117, 120-122, 132-134, 167, 168,<br>171, 172, 174, 176, 178, 179, 194                 |      |
| Paul, Fathers of St                                | 150                                                      |      | Silva, Miss da (Francis de Bourbon's wife)             | 180                                                                                       |      |
| Paulists                                           | 163                                                      |      | — Xavier da                                            | 180                                                                                       |      |
| Persecution of the christians                      | 141                                                      |      | Sind, Church of                                        | 145                                                                                       |      |
| Peter Mundy, the travels of                        | 143, 144                                                 |      | Society of Jesus                                       | 121, 127, 131, 138, 140, 166                                                              |      |
| Phatepor (Fatehpur Sikri)                          | 150                                                      |      | Sodality of the Holy Mother (of the<br>Blessed Virgin) | 124, 126, 127                                                                             |      |
| Philip of the house Navarre = Bourbon,<br>J P      | 173                                                      |      | Surat                                                  | 135, 144                                                                                  |      |
| Pigneiro (Pinheiro), Einmanuel, Fr                 | 116,<br>125, 152, 173                                    |      | T                                                      |                                                                                           |      |
| Pirez (Piz), Domingo                               | 173, 175, 176                                            |      | Tavernier                                              | 144                                                                                       |      |
| Pogose, Armenian bishop                            | 191                                                      |      | Temple, Sir Richard                                    | 143                                                                                       |      |
| Pontiff, ambassador to the                         | 151                                                      |      | Terry, Edward, Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain               | 121                                                                                       |      |
| Portuguese of Bengala                              | 156                                                      |      | Testament of Sikandar                                  | 133, 134, 135                                                                             |      |
| — of Hugli                                         | 141                                                      |      | Tibet "College"                                        | 131                                                                                       |      |
| — seizure of a ship at Surat by the                | 135                                                      |      | — Mission                                              | 131                                                                                       |      |
| — shipwrecked captives released                    | 116                                                      |      | Tuhfat el Masiha, treatise on medicine                 | 190                                                                                       |      |
| Province of the East (Goa)                         | 129                                                      |      | Tulkarnet (Mīrzā Zū-l-Qarnain)                         | 169, 170                                                                                  |      |
| Q                                                  |                                                          |      | Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī                                      | 119, 130, 131, 142, 170, 171<br>177, 190                                                  |      |
| Queen, childless wife of Akbar                     | 175, 176                                                 |      | U                                                      |                                                                                           |      |
| Qulqurnell (= Zū-l-Qarnain)                        | 191-193                                                  |      | Umraos (Omrahs)                                        | 156, 162, 164, 165                                                                        |      |
| R                                                  |                                                          |      | V                                                      |                                                                                           |      |
| "Rāgmālā"                                          | 193, 194                                                 |      | Veroneo, Hieronomo                                     | 145, 167                                                                                  |      |
| Razbootes (Rajputes)                               | 123                                                      |      | Vizapur (Bijāpur)                                      | 150                                                                                       |      |
| Roe, Sir Thomas                                    | 121                                                      |      | X                                                      |                                                                                           |      |
| Rome, General of the S J in                        | 145                                                      |      | Xajan (Shāh Jahān)                                     | 156, 158, 160, 161, 162, 164                                                              |      |
| S                                                  |                                                          |      | Xavier, Jerome (Hieronimo), Fr, S J                    | 115, 116,<br>119 (footnote), 123, 125, 132-135, 152, 158, 159,<br>173, 174, 177, 179, 184 |      |
| Sachajan (Shāh Jāhan)                              | 169                                                      |      | Y                                                      |                                                                                           |      |
| Sacrilegious marriage of Sikandar                  | 115, 116, 117                                            |      | Yakoob Khan, Nawab                                     | 181                                                                                       |      |
| Salcete, christianity of                           | 151                                                      |      | Yakub (Hakoob), additional name of<br>Sikandar ?       | 120                                                                                       |      |
| Salīm Jahāngīr, see Jahāngīr                       |                                                          |      | Yutist, Dominic Gregory                                | 190                                                                                       |      |
| Sāmbhar                                            | 116, 122, 124, 129, 130, 140, 146,<br>159, 160, 161, 167 |      |                                                        |                                                                                           |      |
| — Lake (Salt Lake)                                 | 122                                                      |      |                                                        |                                                                                           |      |

*Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnam a Christian Grandee of three Great Moghuls, with  
Notes on Akbar's Christian Wife and the Indian Bourbons*

By the Rev H. HOSTIN, S.J.

After publishing in *The Examiner*, Bombay (1912) <sup>1</sup> extracts from the Annual Letters of Goa and Cochim (1618-24), we were asked repeatedly to publish further particulars about the famous Prince, Mirza Zū-l-Qarnam or Alexander the founder of what was called the "Agra College."

We regret we cannot fully satisfy at this stage the curiosity of our friends. For sixty years and more the history of the Mirzā and of his father Sikandar (Alexander) is so closely bound up with that of the Mogor Mission that to write the former would mean exhausting the latter. For the moment we intend going chiefly through the more accessible printed sources—a piece of work which we attempted a first time as far back as 1907, and, since one of the chief points of interest and surprise in the Mirza's history is the high dignity to which he was raised by the Moghul Emperors and his great benefactions to the Mogor Mission, we shall select for publication an important Portuguese document by Fr. Francis Corsi, S.J., which reviews the Mirzā's history up to the year 1628, and another by Father Anthony Botelho, S.J., summarising the chief events of the Mogor Mission until after the Mirzā's death.

Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnam's father is mentioned clearly for the first time in a letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier to the General of the Society (Lahore August 2, 1598)

"Quite recently," he wrote, "a violent storm fraught with danger burst over us, and little more was needed for the pestilential and baneful sect lately started by the King [Akbar] to gather fresh strength and overwhelm us. It came about thus. After the death of his Christian wife, a certain Armenian, a Christian,—if a man in such dispositions can yet be called a Christian,—was bent on a sacrilegious marriage with his niece (*ex ea neptem volebat sacrilegus nuptus sibi copulari*) <sup>2</sup> I refused to agree to these incestuous nuptials, whereupon, he tried by soliciting the interference or an order of the King to make me consent to, or at least wink at, his union. The King had us called for, and, as we suspected the motive of this exceptional summons, we commended ourselves to God, offering Him such prayers and vows as the little time at our disposal allowed, and determined to lay down our lives

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Examiner*, Bombay, February 5, 15, 17, March 9, 16, 25, 30, April 6, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Orasmus (1601), Havus (1605), du Jarric (French edn. II, 485) and Louis de Dieu (*Historia S. Petri*, 1630) have *ex ea*=niece but the Mainz edn. of *Recentissima de amplissima Re, no China idem de statu rei Christianae apud Magnum Regem Mogor* (1601), which I have not seen, has "sister," says General R. Maclagan (J. A. S. B., 1896 p. 78, n. 1, and compare with p. 44, No. 8). *Sister* is evidently the correct version as the sequel will show. In our present quotation there is question of two sisters.



The circumstances, which led the Emperor to prove false to the good advice he had himself given to Sikandar in 1598, were as follows —

There was at the Court a young Hindū nobleman, who had allowed himself to be circumcised. He was the son of a great Captain, who had been high in Akbar's favour. One day, Jahāngīr represented to him that, as he was no longer a heathen, he ought to make choice of another religion and become either a Muhammadan or a Christian. "If you choose to become a Christian," he said, "I shall call the Fathers, who will baptize you." The young man chose to become a Muhammadan, and the King to mark his satisfaction had him paraded on an elephant throughout the city.

Seeing that what he had done delighted the Muhammadans, Jahāngīr now wished to obtain the same from Sikandar. "A distinguished Armenian gentleman, he had stood high in the favour of the late King, and he had his two sons brought up at Court with the King's own nephews. The King [Jahāngīr] took it into his head that he would get this Christian to accept the law of Mohammed, but, he remained steadfast in his religion, to the great consolation of the Fathers. He kept them constantly informed of what happened, and, one day, speaking with them 'What do I desire more here on earth,' he said, 'than to die for the faith of my Saviour, in forgiveness of my sins and in expiation of the scandal I gave!' (Long before, he had, contrary to the law of the Church and the representations of the Fathers, married the sister of his deceased wife). But this Christian together with his two children escaped the danger.

"Subsequently, the King asked for the two children, and, hearing that their father had taken them with him, he had them brought back to the palace and received them in the most friendly manner.<sup>1</sup> A few days later, he asked them what religion they belonged to. The children answered they were Christians. 'Well then,' said the King, 'if you are Christians, eat pork.' They answered that there was no precept among Christians enjoining them to eat pork, though, on the other hand, there existed no prohibition.<sup>2</sup> The King's proposal ended there for the time being.

"The next day, in the morning, these children came to see the Fathers, and related to them all that had occurred. The Fathers encouraged them and taught how they should conduct themselves, in case the King should urge them further. Indeed, so it happened for, as the Mohammedans did not cease sitting near the King's ears to get him to pervert these children, the King forbade them to go out of the palace, and kept them as if in confinement. When this had lasted some time, he had them brought again before him, and, placing pork before them, he wished to

<sup>1</sup> Sikandar had come to Agra before the flight of Prince Khusrū, which the Jesuits place during the night of April 15th, 1606, a Saturday. Jahangir went in pursuit of his rebel son, who was arrested and brought to Lahore. While again in peace at Lahore, Jahāngīr remembered Sikandar's two children. Their forcible circumcision happened before September 25th, 1606, when Fr. Jerome Xavier relates it in a letter from Lahore.

<sup>2</sup> FERNÃO GUERREIRO, S. J., *Relação Anual das cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus no anno de 605 & 607* (Lisboa, MDCIX), fol. 153r, remarks that as the children had been brought up by one of the Queens "who reared them in the spirit of Moors with as much aversion for pork as the Moors themselves," the elder boy, Zū-l-Qarnain, could no more be prevailed upon by his father to eat pork.

force them to eat it, but the younger of the two said that, if the Fathers should tell them they must eat it, they would do so. This had been pre-arranged, in the hope that the King would have the Fathers called, in which case they would assist the children and keep up their courage. The King wished to call for the Fathers, when one of his favourites grew so angry at the answer of this little child that he slapped him once or twice in the face, scowling. 'What hast thou to do with the Fathers here, when the King commands?' Seeing this, the King left the Fathers and the pork alone, and said to the children, 'There is nothing to be done. You must become Mohammedans. Recite then the *Calima* (i.e., the profession of faith of the Mohammedans)' <sup>1</sup> The children refused to comply. Hereupon, the King had many rods brought and gave order to scourge them, as is done with malefactors. Terrified at the impending torture, the poor children muttered in a whisper between their teeth what the Mohammedans taught them. And so they were conducted sad and disconsolate to their room <sup>2</sup>.

"The next day, the King sent in someone to circumcise them, but, they would in no way allow it, and started crying so piteously that they were left unmolested this time, until the King should have been informed. Not long after, they were brought before the King. He asked them why they refused to be circumcised. The poor children answered, 'We shall never allow it, because we are Christians.' Our Fathers, who went daily to visit the King, had instructed them thus.

"The King, hearing their bold answer, tried them first with great amiability, and next with grievous threats. Encompassed on every side and seeing that their words were of no avail, one of them approached the King, and, joining his little hands. 'Lord King,' he prayed, 'we beg of thee for the love of *Alazareth Jeam* [read Hazrat 'Īsā], that is, of the Lord Jesus, not to have us circumcised.' But the King refused to listen, and, ordering them to be bound hand and foot, he caused them to be forcibly circumcised. This done, 'Recite now,' he said, 'the *Calima*' (or profession of faith of the Mohammedans). They refused with great firmness, whereat the King became so angry that he commanded them without pity to be most cruelly scourged. The elder boy, being only fourteen years old, yielded under the pain <sup>3</sup>, but the younger one, who was eleven years, kept firmer and would not comply. The blows redoubled, yet, he was heard to say only '*Ah Alazareth Jeam*!' that is '*Oh, Lord Jesus*!' To strengthen himself he held continually a reliquary in his hands. Matters had now come to such a pass that the King was moved to pity and relented, but one of his favourites still gave the lad thirty blows, so hard and cruel that it was enough to make a stout man flinch. In fact, the poor child lost courage under this barbarous treatment and recited what they would

<sup>1</sup> The *Kalimah* "There is no deity but God. Muhammad is the apostle of God. *Lā ilāha illā 'llahu Muhammadun Rasulu 'llāh*"

<sup>2</sup> Some of their relatives went to give an account of this to the Fathers, and one of them, who was resolved to give his life for Christ, removing from his girdle his dagger and a few rupees remitted them to the Fathers, went to the palace and joined the children. F. GUERREIRO, *op cit*, fol. 153r.

<sup>3</sup> F. GUERREIRO (*op cit*, fol. 154r) has "Ah, Hazaraht Ieão" and (fol. 153v) "Alazarath Ieam."

<sup>4</sup> The elder boy was our *Mirzā Zūl Qarnain*.

“Triumphant as it were at his victory, the King left orders to dress their wounds. The same night, our Fathers<sup>1</sup> came near the children, entirely unaware of what had passed. They found them stretched on the floor, quite disconsolate and not uttering a word. But, as soon as they perceived the Fathers, ‘We are Christians,’ they cried out, ‘we were circumcised against our will.’ The Fathers inspired them with courage to remain steadfast. They did so with such intrepidity that they loudly abused Mohammed in the presence of a Mohammedan priest, and cared no longer for what the King commanded, nay, the elder boy, who had been the weaker one under sufferings, seized a poniard and cut through the skin and flesh of his right arm a cross about a palm in length to triumph with these scars to the spite of the Mohammedans. As they behaved now openly as Christians and cared for nothing, the King, without molesting them further, left them alone.”<sup>2</sup>

The heroism of these generous lads had conquered Jahāngīr. He acknowledged it soon after.

“The King, seeing one day the two children, whom (as we have said) he had caused to be circumcised, called them to him and asked whether they wished to be Mohammedans or wanted to remain in the religion of their father. The children answered they would live and die in the faith of Jesus Christ, which they had sucked in with their mother’s milk. Hearing this, the King turned to some of his favourites and remarked, ‘It is a shame not to remain in one’s faith,’ and to the children he added, ‘Remain free in your religion.’”<sup>3</sup>

We may usefully place here an allusion to the above facts made by Bernier: “He [Jahāngīr] permitted two of his nephews to embrace the Christian faith, and extended the same indulgence to *Zulkaṣṣin* [sic] who had undergone the rite of circumcision and been brought up in the *Seraglio*. The pretext was that Mirza was born of Christian parents, his mother having been wife of a rich Armenian, and having been brought to the *Seraglio* by *Jehan-Guvre*’s desire.”<sup>4</sup>

Bernier visited Delhi and Agra about 50 years after Zū-l-Qarnain’s forcible circumcision, and when to all appearances the Mirzā was dead. When he writes that his mother, who had died in or before 1598, was brought to Jahāngīr’s harem, we are not prepared to accept his statement. We can admit that she frequented the ladies in his or his father’s harem as a lady doctor. Bernier’s statement must be compared with Fr Corsi’s, that in the *Tūẓuk-ı-Jahāngīrī* and others

One of the many surprising developments in our knowledge of Zū-l-Qarnain is that quite recently an Armenian gentleman, Mr C Hyrapiet, writing to *The Pioneer* and commenting on the passage just quoted from Bernier, should have

<sup>1</sup> Fathers Jerome Xavier and Francis Corsi

<sup>2</sup> Cf C. HAZART, S.J. *Kerkelyche Historie*, Antwerpen, M. Cnobbaert, II<sup>e</sup> Deel, MDCLXVII. The story is given in greater detail by du Jarric, *Troisième partie de l’histoire des choses plus memorables*, Bourdeaux, 1614, pp. 105-111, 115, and in FERNÃO GUERREIRO’s *Relaçam do real de 1606 and 1607*, Lisboa, MDCIX, foli. 151v-155r. 159r.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> BERNIER, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (1656-1668). A Constable’s edn., Westminster, 1891, p. 287. The French has “ils de la femme d’un riche Armenien, laquelle Jehan Guvre s’était fait amener dans le serail.”

<sup>5</sup> *The Pioneer*, Thursday, March 28, 1912, in *The Taj and its designers*. Mr Hyrapiet must, however, be warned against seeing his compatriots everywhere and in everything.

asked the very pertinent question "Is Bernier's Mirza Zulkarnin identical with 'Ghool-Kurneyl' (the son of a Mr Hakoob) of the Armenian writers, said to have been adopted by Akbar as his son (having no issue at the time) during his journey into Kashmir?"

Doubtless "Ghool-Kurneyl" is identical with our Zū-l-Qarnain and what surprises us is that there should be at all Armenian writers referring to Zū-l-Qarnain's adoption by Akbar. What surprises us again is that there should be at all Armenian writings concerning the early history of the Armenians in India. It is wrong to say that Akbar had no issue at the time referred to, but it is quite possible that Sikandar, senior, had the additional alternative name of Hakoob (Yakub). Mr Hyrapiet does not appear to be acquainted with anything I have written, and I do not remember to have printed before 1912 anything concerning the connection between Akbar and Zū-l-Qarnain or his father. Mr Hyrapiet possesses therefore independent information, which, if these lines should meet his eyes or those of his friends, I must urge him, as strongly as I can, to make public. He promised us other revelations, which we are awaiting impatiently.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of 1608, when Jahāngir was returning from Lahore to Agra, he had his rebellious son Khusrū blinded, and the same fate befell a captain, his accomplice, who had been the chief instigator in the persecution set on foot against Sikandar's two children.<sup>2</sup>

There is yet another allusion to the two boys trying to gain the Jubilee indulgence granted by Pope Paul V, "the first ever published in India."

<sup>1</sup> After writing the above I came upon what appears to be Mr C. Hyrapiet's authority. Akbar the Great adopted the youthful and promising son of a Mr Jacob, an Armenian merchant whom he had met at Kashmere during his 'incognito tours'. This singular adoption was made several years before Jahāngir was born whose birth in 1570 he attributed to the advent of Armenians into Agra and their erection in 1562 of a Christian church there at the express wish of their royal patron. Cf. MESROB J. SETH *History of the Armenians in India* Calcutta, 1890, p. 25. This adoption could not have taken place before 1570 and what authority is there for Akbar's attributing to the advent of Armenians at Agra, and not to Salim Chishti, the birth of Jahāngir? How too will it be proved that the Armenians had a church at Agra since 1562? And is there more than one Armenian author to state that Zū-l-Qarnain's father was Mr Jacob, an Armenian merchant? On discovering that Mr Mesrobian J. Seth was in Calcutta I communicated with him and urged him to give us Zū-l-Qarnain's history from Armenian sources. He complied very kindly with my request and sent me the text which I publish below under Appendix E.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Racconti d'alcune missioni fatte dalli Padri d'la Compagnia di Gesù nell' Indie Orientali* Roma Zanetti, MDCXV, p. 15. Guerreiro's *Relação* for 1607-08 does not say that the captain blinded at the same time as Khusrū was the chief instigator of the persecution (cf. fol. 8r). Two grandees, one the Minister of Finances (*vedor da fazenda*) and Governor of Lahore, the other a great captain, were paraded through the streets of Lahore after the capture of Khusrū. Sowed up in the skin of an ox and of an ass, their face turned to the tail of the ass, they rode, they were brought into the presence of Jahāngir then in a pleasure garden near Lahore. The captain was beheaded, the Governor of Lahore after several days of cruel torture due to the contraction of the skin was ransomed for a lakh of cruzados and reinstated. Cf. Guerreiro, *Relação* for 1605-07, fol. 149v, 150v, and compare with the account in Ellis, *Hist. of India* VI 302-303 where the names of the two nobles are given: Husain Beg who was killed and Abul Fazl ('Abul Fakhr), according to the *Turk-i-Jahāngiri*, edn. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge I 65-66. The end of the two instigators of the cruel treatment meted out to Zū-l-Qarnain and his brother is related in Guerreiro's *Relação* for 1607-08 fol. 149v. On both his appointment and was kept in an inferior position, the other, the greater noble of the kingdom who had before been called the King's brother, began to languish, he became lame in both legs and lost his memory, finally the King deposed him of the royal seal, and gave him a small jagir to live on.

Cf. *Racconti*. Op. cit. p. 27. I have not found the year when the Jubilee indulgence was procured. I suppose it was in 1600. It was not the first in India. Ignatius had obtained from Pope Julius III the permission for

I do not insist on the story of Jahāngīr's visiting a boon-companion of his, one "Alexandre," the weaver. The story, picked up by Manucci so many years after the event, may be a popular skit on the humble beginnings of Sikandar, Zū-l-Qarnain's father, and his subsequent good fortune, but it is not improbable that the similarity of name is the only point of contact.<sup>1</sup>

We are not sure either whether the Rev Edward Terry, Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain at the Court of the Great Moghul (1615-1618), alludes to Sikandar's or Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain's confession of the faith, or to Mukarrab Khān's conversion in 1610. We incline towards the former alternative. Terry writes<sup>2</sup>

"The Jesuits in East-India have liberty to convert any they can work upon, unto Christianity, &c. The Mogul hath thus far declared, that it shall be lawful for any one, persuaded so in conscience, to become a Christian, and that he should not by so doing lose his favour

"Upon which I have one thing here to insert, which I had there by report (yet I was bid to believe it and report it for a truth) concerning a gentleman of quality, and of a servant of the great Mogul, who upon some conviction wrought upon him (as they say) would needs be baptized and become a Christian. The King hearing of this convert, sent for him, and at first with many cruel threats commanded him to renounce his new profession, the man reply'd that he was most willing to suffer anything in that cause which the King would inflict

"The Mogul then began to deal with him in another way, asking him why he thought himself wiser than his forefathers, who lived and died Mahometans<sup>3</sup> and further added many promises of riches and honour, if he would return to his Mahometism, he reply'd again (as they say, for I have this by tradition) that he would not accept of anything in the world so to do, the Mogul wondering at his constancy, told him, that if he could have frightened or bought him out of his new profession, he would have made him an example for all waverers; but now that he perceived that his resolution indeed was to be a Christian, he bid him so continue, and with a reward discharged him."<sup>4</sup>

his religious to proclaim wherever they were, the great Jubilee celebrated in Rome in 1550. Fr Melchior Nunez brought this permission with him to Goa in 1551, and the Jubilee was preached at Goa and in the Portuguese fortresses on the West Coast. Cf. A. BROU, *S. François Xavier*, Paris 1912, II 274, where see the references. A second Jubilee was published in 1564. Cf. C. C. DE NAZARETH, *Vitae Lusitanas*, Lisboa, 1897, p. 39 n. 77.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. IRVINE, *Storia del Mogor*, I 172-173. F. CATROU, S. J., *Hist. génér. de l'Empire du Mogol*, Paris, MDCCXV pp. 133-134 (English transl., London, Jonah Bowyer, 1703, pp. 123-124). Mr Mesrobian J. Seth sends me the following: "I find in an extract from a letter written in 1609 by an Armenian Archimandrite, Joseph by name, to another Armenian a rich merchant at Ispahan, called Khojah Woskan: 'It is now eight years that my brother Iskandear [Iskandar Alexander] went on a commercial tour, then saw to the country of Lahore.'" (*Letter of August 21, 1915*)

<sup>2</sup> E. TERRY, *Voyage to East India*, London, 1777, pp. 424-425.

<sup>3</sup> Sikandar, Zū-l-Qarnain's father, was for a time looked upon by the Muhammadans as a Muslim, because he had married his deceased wife's sister. Even in 1607 this argument was used to enforce the circumcision of his children. As the story here stands, we cannot well refer it to Sikandar or Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain, since both were born of Christian parents. (Cf. *infra* Fr Corsi's account). On the other hand, there is some difficulty to refer it to Mukarrab Khān, who did not long persevere.

<sup>4</sup> Mukarrab Khān or Shāh ḥ Hasan was a favourite physician of Akbar's who rose to great honours under Jahāngīr. Cf. BLOCHMANN, *Āin*, I 543, No. 94. Sent as ambassador to Goa with Father Pinheiro, he left Lahore on September 13,



We learn from Father Corsi that Sikandar, Mirzā Zū l-Qarnain's father, died in 1613, and we may suppose from the same source that the eldest son, Zū l-Qarnain, then 20 years old, was appointed to the office of collector of the salt revenues at Sambhar. Anyhow, Zū l-Qarnain appears to have been in charge there in 1616, when Tom Coryate went from Ajmer to visit the place. "After I had been with the King," he says, "I went to a certain noble and generous Christian of the Armenian race, two days' journey from the Moghul's court, to the end to observe certain remarkable matters in the same place. To him by means of my Persian tongue I was so welcome that he entertained me with very civil and courteous compliments and at my departure gave me very bountifully 20 pieces of such kind of money as the King had done before." A two days' journey would have brought the English traveller to the Sāmbhar Lake, and the salt-pans would have proved a sufficiently attractive sight.

Coryate goes on to relate the following story about one Sikandar, an Armenian who must have been Zū l-Qarnain's father' —

[P 492] "The King likes not those that change their Religion, hee himselfe being of none but of his owne making, and therefore suffers all Religions in his Kingdome Which by this notable example I can make manifest. The King had a Servant that was an Armenian, by name Scander, to whom upon occasion of speech of Religion, the King asked if hee thought either hee or the Padres had converted one Moore to be a true Christian, and that was so for conscience sake, and not for money who answered with great confidence, That hee had one which was a perfect Christian, and for no worldly respect would bee other, whom the King caused presently to be sent for and bidding his Master depart, demanded why hee was become a Christian, who rendered certaine feeble, implicite, Jesuiticall Reasons, and avowed

1607, arrived at Cambay in April 1608, and after a nine months' stay there, came to Surat, where he found William Hawkins. During his stay in Cambay, at Goga, as appears from the faulty spelling of Gaore (Cf *Annual Letters from Goa and Cochim*, 1621, in *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1912, March 23, p 117), Mukarrab Khān's son fell ill. Pinheiro was called. He read over the child the Gospel of St Matthew, touched him with relics and obtained his cure, with the result that Mukarrab Khān made the vow of having him baptized. From Surat Pinheiro went to Goa and returned to Cambay in June 1609 on a mission to Mukarrab Khān. He was back in Surat in the beginning of October, and arrived at Goa on November 25. Mukarrab Khān, who had remained in Gujarat, was called to Agra at the end of September 1609. Thrown into prison, liberated, reinstated, he was soon after on his way to Goa with Father Pinheiro, who had rejoined him at Agra. It is therefore in 1610 that he was baptized at Goa by Father Nicholas Pimenta, S J, under the name of Don João, for Don Aleixo de Menezes, the Archbishop, to whom he came as ambassador, left Goa for Portugal either in December 1610 or on January 31, 1611. Mukarrab Khān was back at Surat by the time Middleton's ships arrived. Cf W HAWKINS, *Voyages*, Hakluyt, edn. 1878, pp 406, 409, 414. ELLIOT'S *Hist. of India*, VI, 320-321. GUERREIRO'S *Relaçam* for 1607-08, foll 19-22v. In 1620, Mukarrab Khān, Governor of Patna, invited the Jesuits of Hughli to come and open a mission at Patna. His son, baptized at Gaore (Goga), had become a Muhammadan, while Mukarrab Khān, though he prided himself on being called a Christian, was no honour to his religion, but a mere hypocrite. On the Jesuit Mission at Patna in 1620-22, cf *The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, 1906, pp 804-805, and *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1912, pp 117-119. also L. S. S. O'Malley, *Patna* (Bengal District Gazetteers), Calcutta, 1907, pp 75-76.

<sup>1</sup> Cf PURCHAS, I, 549. Communicated by Mr H. Beveridge through the late W. Irvine, March 22nd, 1907. The reference for the new edn. of PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, Glasgow, MacLehose, 1905, is vol. IV, 487.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluytus Posthumus, or PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV, Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, MCMV, pp 492-494.



Prince, remembering the pig, asked the young man's master if he had received it, to which he answered 'No, my Lord, and I have neither seen nor heard anything of it' The Prince thereupon sent for the young man and rated him soundly as a disgrace to his religion, dismissed him from his service, took away what he gave him for his daily maintenance, and ordered that two or three months' arrear of pay owing to him should be forfeited'''

The Annual Letters of Goa for 1619 mention the Mirzā as the Governor of a province over which Jahāngīr has appointed him. He had in his service more than 200 Christians, and two of the Fathers resided at his court. The name of the province is not given in the Annual Letters of 1619 and 1620, but we find Sāmbhar mentioned in Letters of 1621 and 1624. We read in the Annual Letter for 1619<sup>2</sup> —

*Mission of Mogor* —[P 131] "Of the four Fathers employed on that Mission, two reside at Agra, the ancient Capital of the King, and two accompany him wherever he goes, because he wants it so

[132] "Our harvest of [new] Christians was largest in a certain Province over which the King has appointed as Governor an Armenian Christian, a man of singular virtue, whom all the Christians worship as their Father. His name is [133] Mirzè Zulcarnen [Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain]. He has taken at his Court some two hundred poor people, whom he maintains without regard to expense<sup>3</sup>. His largesses—a bait wherewith he conceals his hook—attract the Gentoos and Maomettans so strongly that he fishes up many into the Church of Jesus Christ, who then abjure their vile Maomet. Having been installed Governor of that Province, he secured at once the services of one of our Fathers, and when he had taken possession of his Province, he called still another<sup>4</sup>. Both have reaped plentiful fruit, so necessary is it for the propagation of the Gospel that it should first pass through the ears of the body. Hence many Gentoos and Maomettans have been regenerated through baptism, and these Neophytes are drawn' by the Governor's good example to assist with great devotion at Mass and the divine offices, and they show great fervour in frequenting the Sacraments. He asked the Fathers to establish a Sodality of the Holy Mother of God, and was the first to give his name. Like a bright glowing torch, he leads the way in the observance of the rules, hears Mass daily, takes the discipline on Fridays, and distributes himself the disciplines to the brethren. The women have grown jealous of the piety of the men

<sup>1</sup> J A S B, 1896, p. 92. Fr Jerome Xavier heard this story probably at Fatehpur Sikri, where he saw the Prince. At the time of writing Fr Xavier was at Agra, where Akbar then resided.

<sup>2</sup> The Annual Letter of Goa from which we quote was made up at Goa by means of the letters received from the different houses and Missions dependent on the Province of Goa. It is dated February 1, 1620. The Letter from Mogor recited therefore the particulars of 1619. Cf. *Lettere Annue del Giappone, China, Goa et Ethiopia Scritte al M R P Generale della Compagnia di Gesu negli anni 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619*. Napoli: Lazaro Scoriggio MDCXXI, pp. 131-137.

<sup>3</sup> He had begun to employ them in 1614. Cf. *infra* Fr Corsi's letter, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> The Catalogues of the Goa Province mention under Mogor: Fr Joseph de Castro at Sāmbhar in 1621, and Fr Gonçalo de Souza at Sāmbhar in 1624. There is a letter (MS.) by Fr Corsi from Sāmbhar, September 17, 1624.

To our astonishment they lock themselves up on a certain day of the week in a certain apartment, where after the example of the Governess and her court-ladies, they go through the same practices

“Mrizè did not allow the fire of his charity to remain pent up within the confines of his Province, it blazed forth beyond those limits and reached far-off Palestine Besides the alms which he assigns every month to the Fathers for their upkeep, to needy Neophytes, widows and orphans (all of whom would certainly have been in extreme want [134] now that the King has withdrawn the allowance which he used to grant to Fathers Jerome Xavier and Manoel Pignero [Pinheiro], his great friends), he sent to Jerusalem valuable presents and a big alms for the maintenance of the Religious in charge of the Holy Places<sup>1</sup> Moreover, on hearing of the above-mentioned hurricane, and how the churches had been badly damaged all over the North, he sent six thousand rupees, a kind of silver money, for repairing the Church of the Blessed Virgin<sup>2</sup>

“Our Lord does not allow Himself to be outdone by the Mrizè's great liberality The following will clearly show how He pours by torrents into his soul virtue upon virtue He had a son, the heir to all his riches, temporal and spiritual, a boy richly gifted in body and soul, the Court's delight<sup>3</sup> He fell dangerously ill, and only those who know how much he and his father were loved by all, can say how deeply all were concerned All felt aggrieved, the mother was inconsolable, while the father's heart was rent asunder, on the one hand by his love for so sweet a boy, one so well deserving of his love, on the other by his supernatural desire to please God, desire not a whit inferior to his natural affection for his child Understanding that the disease was making progress, he made to God—like another Abraham—a heartfelt sacrifice, and bathed in tears burst forth in the following prayer ‘Lord, Thou gavest me this son, to Thee I return him, to Thee I offer him and consecrate him Receive him, I beseech Thee, clothed in the white garment of innocence with which he was vested in baptism. I know well how much more happy he will be in Heaven than in the Mogor's Royal palace’ And to show that he spoke from the heart, he forbade severely all his people to call in [135] the aid of sorcerers, and let the child be contaminated by their pagan superstitions anyone acting to the contrary must lose his head in the attempt God accepted the Mrizè's prayer The child died, and the father gave thanks to God from his inmost heart, because He had been pleased to accept the dearest pledge of love which he could offer after himself Nor did he show less joy

<sup>1</sup> He sent to the Armenian Fathers of Jerusalem Rs 6,000 to the Franciscans at Jerusalem, Rs. 1 000 to the Franciscans of Aleppo Rs. 500 to the Franciscans of Bethlehem, Rs 500 Cf. *infra* Fr Corsi's account of 1628 I think I have read in one of the MS letters that he sent valuable lamps to be put up in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem

<sup>2</sup> The hurricane of May 17, 1618, which ravaged the coast between Bombaim and Agaçaum, destroyed 15 churches of the Franciscans, 5 of the Dominicans, 3 of the Augustinians, 7 of the Jesuits, and 5 of the secular Priests Cf. FREY LUIS DE CACEGAS, *Hist de S Domingos*, Lisboa, 1767, III, L. 2, C 8 FARIA Y SOUSA, *Asia Portuguesa* III, P 3, C 17 Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, Lisboa, 1897, pp 121, 607, and our notes from the Annual Letter of Goa for 1618 in *The Examiner*, Bombay 1912, p 48 The money sent by Zū-l-Qarnain was probably employed in rebuilding the Church of *Nossa Senhora da Vida* of Bassem

<sup>3</sup> The Moghul Court's, doubtless

when he heard that the chief Maomettan's little son, who lay mortally ill, had with his father's consent received baptism from our Father<sup>1</sup> Mrizè ordered to bury the child in the church,<sup>2</sup> and, to surround the ceremony with all possible pomp, he made it a point to be present with all the Christians then in that town. This gave the followers of the false Prophet so much to talk about and wonder at, that they formed a much higher opinion of baptism than theretofore.

"This faithful servant of God is so greatly favoured by the Divine Majesty that all the affairs of his government are daily crowned with increased success. Plenty has chosen his house as her abode, as a treasure-house wherein she pours and empties out her cornucopia. He is the eye of the King, for him to ask is to obtain, his name is famous everywhere, in fine, he is so full of heavenly grace that it redounds marvellously on those of his household.

"His wife was in the throes of a dangerous parturition. Mrizè, taking from his neck the cross studded with relics which he used to wear, had it hung from the neck of his consort, and behold! presently she gave birth to a most pretty boy. The good Mrizè recognized in this a special favour of God, a reward for the generous oblation he had made of his other son to the Divine Majesty. To celebrate [136] so happy an event, not merely the birthday of an heir, but a great miracle obtained through the Holy Cross, he began the festivities by releasing all the prisoners and paying off their debts.

"The followers of Maomet dare not, under so powerful a protector of the Christian law, set their face against it. on the contrary, they respect it, and many are the Gentoo slaves whom they restore to liberty on condition of their becoming Christians."

*Mission of Mogor*<sup>3</sup>—[P. 161]—"Five of our Fathers are cultivating this vast kingdom. One of them is always following the King and his army, another resides at Agra, the capital, with a great part of the Christians. The other three are near Prince Mirza Zulcarne, the father, pillar and mainstay of this Christianity. All have had ample occasion to labour for Christ, one excepted, who for reason of illness was sent back to [Portuguese] India.

"The Christians who live under Prince Mirza make daily [165] marvellous progress in holiness and virtue. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, instituted last year at his request, goes on better and better. The members of it are already every month

<sup>1</sup> Probably Aṣaf Khān, brother of Nūr Jahān, Jahāngīr's brother-in-law and Shah Jahān's father-in-law, is meant here. He was the staunchest friend and protector of the Fathers throughout the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. His action should not surprise us, however remarkable in itself. It may be compared with the case of the baptism of Mukarrab Khān's son. The child meant may also be the son of Prince Parwīz, who after the disgrace of Prince Khusrū, was the heir-apparent. He had a son, five years old, who died at Agra in 1618. Cf. A. ROGERS and H. BEVERIDGE, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, 110, 110 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> At Agra, or Lahore rather than at Sambhar.

<sup>3</sup> This extract is from the Annual Letter of Goa for 1620, which is not dated, but must have been written at Goa at the end of 1620 or in the very beginning of 1621. Cf. *Lettere Annue d' Etiopia, Malabar, Brasil, e Goa, dall' Anno 1620 fin' al 1624*. Roma, Francesco Corbeletti, MDCXXVII, pp. 161-164-170. There is a French translation *Histoire de ce qui s'est passé en Ethiopie, Malabar, Brasil, et es Indes Orientales*. Paris: S. Cramoisy, MDCXXVIII, in which the letter of Goa for 1620 will be found at pp. 171-216.



alms of fifteen hundred scudi, and five hundred more for the other Fathers in Mogor.<sup>1</sup> But our Fathers are not the only recipients of the liberality of this Christian Prince. He extends it to the rest of the Christians, and even to the poor Gentoos.

"A Christian, one of the chief citizens, lying near death, wished to make his will, but he found his debts were so considerable that, if he wanted to satisfy his creditors, he must deprive his children of much which they could not miss. The poor sick man was in sore perplexity. When this most liberal Prince came to hear of it, he went to see him, consoled him and promised that he would pay off his debts, even if he survived. And so he did, thus showing how strong a hold charity and compassion can take of a Christian heart.

"At this time a great scarcity<sup>2</sup> and penury of food [168] was harassing the Gentoos. For the last five years the rain had failed. The sky had seemed of brass. A great number of people flocked to the city of our Mirza, and the good Prince, moved with pity, ordered a rich Gentoo to distribute daily to his people a sufficient quantity of food, with which he would regularly supply him. This man did so for many days, when Mirza began to scruple whether he could in conscience perform, through a barbarian, an enemy of Christ, this pious work of feeding the famished. He sought the advice of the Father who is with him, and was asked on that occasion why he used for so holy an object the services of a Gentoo rather than of a Christian. 'Because, Father,' was the pious Prince's answer, 'there is not a single man among the Christians rich enough to make people believe that he exercises this charity towards the poor at his own expense. If a Christian were to give such alms in this city, all would at once think that evidently I am behind it. Therefore, to avoid vain glory in this matter, I thought of employing this rich Gentoo whom many will probably imagine to be the giver of these alms.

"At all the most solemn feasts of the year, Mirza sends to the Father a large sum of money to be distributed in alms among the poor Christians. His kindness towards those who come from Paganism is beyond words. [169] He helps and assists them in all their needs, that they may be confirmed in the Holy Faith. He does the same in the case of orphan girls, who otherwise would be in danger. He presents them with dowries, and marries them according to their rank, thus placing their virtue beyond the reach of temptation. In a word, Prince Mirza is among these Mogorese another apostle, a second St. Paul, who becomes *omnibus omnia, ut omnes Christo lucrifaciat* (all things to all men, that he may save all).<sup>3</sup> Kind to all, the pillar of this Christianity, the only refuge of all the afflicted, he not only procures to all the bodily assistance they may want, but ministers with even greater success to their souls.

<sup>1</sup> The *scudo*, like the *crucado*, was then valued at Rs. 2. In 1633, Mirza Zu'l-Qarnain was made to pay to Shah Jahan Rs. 800,000, and this sum is converted by the Jesuits into 400,000 *scudi* or *crucados*. Hence, the *scudo* has been reckoned too low in Sir R. C. Temple's edn. of *Frauds of Peter Mundy*. II. 379.

<sup>2</sup> This apparently refers to some local scarcity of food in the Sambhar district in 1620. There is no other mention of it, so far as I know. The great famine in the West of India occurred in 1630. "Sir Richard Carnac Temple, *op. cit.*, II, 731-2.

Adapted from: Cor. ix. 2.

"An old woman had for more than sixty years remained stubborn in her idolatry. She followed the superstitious sect of what they call here Jogin.<sup>1</sup> Hearing Prince Mirza's preaching and his pious exhortations, she resolved to become a Christian. And so, after a year's trial—in order to confirm her in the Faith,—she was solemnly baptized, to the great satisfaction of all, and with the hope of converting others. Another, a lady of rank, wished to become a Christian, chiefly, she said, because the religion of that Father of ours, whom she saw daily assisting people in dying well and burying the poor, could not be false. Such then is the power, even on the heart of Barbarians, of the example of Christian piety and mercy.

"Last June one of our priests was sent to Goa in order to negotiate with the Superiors the foundation of a College of the Society [170] at Agra, the capital of Mogor, which Prince Mirza wishes to found on a yearly revenue of fifteen hundred scudi.

"During his journey the Father did not neglect to labour for Christ and make himself useful to the souls of the Barbarians among whom he passed. God grant for His glory, for the confusion of Maomettan obduracy, and the good of those idolaters, that the affairs of the Agra College may go on improving."

*Mission of Mogor and its Residences*—[P. 336] "We continue cultivating the Christianity of this great Empire. It grows and would grow still more, if we had labourers, the want of them being greatly felt in this premier Province of the East.<sup>2</sup> For just reasons, a Father has again been stationed in the Residence of Laor [Lahore]. At Sambar and at Agra they have laboured as much as these places admit of.

"Last year two sons of the Seraphic Father St Francis came to Sambar [Sambhar], and this year two others came with their Commissary, a Religious of great talents and one who has well merited of his office.

[341] "Mirza Zulcarnen continues to give much edification, and to show much zeal for the cause of Christianity. We hope of him that he will promote much the new Christianity of this country, and that of [Portuguese] India."

Michel Angelo Luvaldi's account in *L' India Orientale soggettata al Vangelo*, Roma,

<sup>1</sup> Was she a *jogi* or merely a Hindu devout to some *jogai* or did she belong to a caste of Hindus called *jogi*, who are commonly weavers? The word *jogi* was used very loosely by the old authors. <sup>2</sup> June 1620. Fr. J. de Castro.

<sup>3</sup> The Annual Letter of Goa for 1622 is missing in *Lettere Annuale d' Etiopia, Malabar, Brasil, e Goa, dall' Anno 1620 per l' Anno 1624*. Roma, Francesco Corbetti, MDCCXXII. As for the letter from Mogor for 1623 it is said in the Annual letter of Goa for 1623 that a special relation would be sent. We may take it, therefore, that the extracts here given for Mogor from the Letter of Goa December 15, 1624 refer to 1623. In fact the information from Mogor finishes with a letter from Father Antonio d' Andrada, Badrinath May 10, 1624 and it contains a letter about Mogor of July 14, 1624 which relates Fr. Jos. de Castro's return from Ajmer to Agra before Christmas, his visit to Kashmir in Jahangir's company, their return to Agra, and Prince Khurram's defeat near Allahabad.

<sup>4</sup> The Province of Goa.

<sup>5</sup> The Commissary's name alone is found—Father Francis of Madrid. In a letter dated 14th July 1624, he writes his impressions of Sambhar and Agra to the Provincial of Goa. "Before penetrating further into the interior" he says (*op. cit.*, p. 337), "I met at Sambar Fr. Francis Corso [Corso] whose Christian community is so well instructed that one could desire nothing better. The rare virtues displayed by that Father in that ministry drew from my eyes tears of joy and the charity with which he received us was equal to all his other virtues. From there I went to Agra, where I found two other Fathers." The object of these five Franciscans in visiting Mogor does not appear but, we understand that, coming to Agra, they would not neglect to pay a visit to Mirzā Zūl-Qarnāin at Sāmbar and thank him for his liberality to their Order.



Ignatio de Lazzari, MDCLIII, pp 362-363, summarizes the Annual Letter of Goa for 1619 "The faith was propagated most in a certain Province of Mogor, where Mrizè Zulcarnen, a native of Armenia and a Christian from his birth, ruled since 1619<sup>1</sup> with the title of Governor Greatly in favour with the King, and therefore very powerful, he promoted largely our religion He built a church in his Province, where the faithful would assemble and acquit themselves of the observances of their religion The number of the poor having greatly increased, he took some two hundred of them into his palace and supported them with great generosity This example of his faith and charity drew many away from the impious persuasion of Mahomet, and the unhappy thralldom of idolatry, hence, he obtained the name of 'Father of the Christians of Mogor' Extending still further the bounds of his great charity, and in order to keep up the care of our Redeemer's Sepulchre in Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> he sent thither from the remote banks of the Ganges rich presents and a goodly sum of money for the maintenance of the Religious entrusted with the custody of the Holy Places He wished to have a Sodality established under the patronage of the Mother of God, and he was the first to have himself enrolled and to profess his allegiance to the great Queen When the exercises of the Friday scourging was introduced, he distributed himself the chords to the Congregation, and to induce them to chastise the unruly senses for their rebellion against reason he would forestall them in taking the discipline Every day he assisted with great reverence at the Sacrifice of the Mass, beseeching the Lord of all things to keep and augment his Christian flock So lively and unfaltering was his faith that, when human means failed to avert from his consort the dangers of parturition, he had recourse to helps divine Full of trust in a crucifix containing sacred relics which he wore round his neck, he took it off, placed it round the neck of the lady, and presently *con quel legame scoltisi i nodosi nodi dell' utero*, she was happily delivered of a lovely boy The pious Armenian considered himself beholden to God for this heavenly favour, and in token of his gratitude to the Eternal Monarch he restored all his prisoners to liberty But, lest clemency should get the better of justice, he paid their creditors from his own purse, leaving criminal cases to be judged in another Court"

There is an allusion to the Mirzā in the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* or *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* "Zū-l-Qarnain obtained leave to proceed to the faujdarship of Sambhar He is the son of Iskandar, the Armenian, and his father had the good fortune to be in the service of 'Arsh-āshyānī (Akbar), who gave him in marriage the daughter of 'Abdu l-Hayy,' the Armenian, who was in the service in the royal harem By her he had two sons One was Zū-l-Qarnain, who was intelligent and fond of work, and to him, during my reign, the chief diwans had entrusted the charge of the government salt works at Sambhar, a duty which he performed efficiently He was now ap-

<sup>1</sup> The *scudo*, like the *crusado*, was

Rs 800,000, and this sum is converted by

reckoned too low in Sir R. C. Temple's edn of Jesuit letters must be Luaidi's glose

<sup>2</sup> This apparently refers to some locality, mention the Holy Sepulchre Luaidi is, however, correct in his glose of it, so far as I know The great famine *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* London 1914, II 194

op cit, II, 378 n 1 Akbarnama Vol III as taking part in the religious discussions."

Adapted from 1 Cor ix. 22

pointed to the faujdarship of that region. He is an accomplished composer of Hindī songs. His method in this art was correct, and his compositions were frequently brought to my notice and were approved."<sup>1</sup>

The passage belongs to the end of the 15th year of Jahāngir's reign and Zū-l-Qarnain appears to have gone to take up his appointment in February, 1621. The *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* is, however, at variance here with the Jesuit Annual Letters, which speak of him in 1619 as Governor of a Province, which we supposed to be Sāmbhar. But the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* agrees in stating that, previous to his appointment to the faujdarship, he had been in charge there of the government salt works.

In May 1628, Father Francisco Corsi, S. J., who had been in Mogor since February 1600, wrote to the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome a statement regarding the benefactions made to the Mission of Mogor by Mirzā Sikandar and Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain since 1613. One of the Mirzā's chief titles to the everlasting gratitude of the Fathers was that he had donated in 1619 a large sum of money with which to buy landed property in the "North," i. e., near Salsette, Bombay. The Missionaries and their Christian poor were thus made independent of the King, by whom chiefly they had until then been maintained. The Mirzā's foundation was called the *Collegium inchoatum* of Agra. As in the case of the "College" of Hugli, the term "College" applied to the Jesuit House of Agra has led to many misunderstandings. The organisation of the Society did not then know residences not dependent on a "College", hence, when the Order established itself in a new country, a "College" was founded, around which secondary houses were grouped.<sup>2</sup> Agra under the Jesuits (1600-1773) never had a College worth speaking of. At most there was a small school for elementary education. The "Rector" of the Agra College was merely the Superior of the Mogor Mission, the Agra "College" being the chief Jesuit House in Mogor with two or at most three other mission-stations dependent on it. About 1628, Zū-l-Qarnain made another foundation for a "College" in Tibet. Evidently, there was no question of a big school to be conducted in Tibet, but of a Mission in want of regular subsidies to carry on its work. The head-station would have been called a "College," and its branch-stations, "Residences." On the destruction of the Tibet Mission about 1640, the Superior of the Mogor Mission asked that its funds should be applied to the Agra College, the revenues of

1 "It is mentioned in M. Wariş's continuation of the *Pādīshāh-nāmā*, p. 392, of B. M. MS. that Zū-l-Qarnain Farangī came from Bengal and presented poems which he had composed on Shāh Jahān's name, and got a present of Rs. 4,000. He it was, probably, who entertained Coryat. The passage in the text seems to show that Akbar had an Armenian wife." [H. B.] *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Op. cit., II, 194, n. 1. — On the 4th Urdūbihisht 1 H. 1032 (1623), one Mansūr Khān Farangī with his brother (the MSS. have 'his brother Maḡrūr') and Naubat Khān Dakhanī (the MSS. have a name that is not Naubat, but perhaps Yūnas or Yūnash Khān) separated from B-daulat (Prince Khurram), and entered Jahāngir's service. "Mansūr's circumstances," says the historian, "have been recorded in the preceding pages," whereupon Mr. H. Beveridge asks where? (Cf. *Ibid.*, II, 258). He is mentioned later (p. 271), where his death is recorded in 1623. "Perhaps," says Mr. H. B., "he is the Armenian mentioned in the 15th year as Zū-l-Qarnain. But, an Armenian would hardly be called a Farangī." (*Ibid.*, II, 258, n. 1). On this we remark that Mr. H. B. has himself shown (*ibid.*, II, 194, n. 1) that Zū-l-Qarnain was called Farangī. Mansūr Khān, killed in 1623, cannot be Zū-l-Qarnain, who died some 30 years later.

2 "Nec admittendæ censebantur Residentiæ perpetuæ, nisi vel tanquam membra alicujus Collegii, vel tanquam Collegia inchoata." (a. 1619-23). Cf. H. RAMFREY, S. J., *Compendium Instituti Soc. Jesu, Tolosæ*, 1895, p. 124.

which had become inadequate. One of the first acts of the English authorities of Bombay was to confiscate the estates of the Agra College.

Fol. 67<sup>iv</sup>. "OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGIUM INCHOATUM IN THE CITY OF AGRA, MADE BY MIRZA ZULCARNE, AND ACCEPTED BY OUR REVD. FATHER MUTIO VITELLESQI IN THE YEAR 1621."<sup>1</sup>

"When King Acbar [Akbar] was reigning in Mogol, there came to this Court an honourable man, an Armenian, called Mirza Scander [Mirzā Sikandar=the Lord Alexander] a native of Halepo [Aleppo], whom the King esteemed highly, as he was a young gentleman and possessed of good parts, among others a knowledge of various languages, in particular Portuguese, because he had been living some years as a merchant in the cities of India.<sup>2</sup> Hence, the King not only admitted him as a cavalier (*criado de cavalo*), but married him with a damsel called Juliana, the daughter of another honourable Armenian, Koja Abdellahi (whom I also knew).<sup>3</sup> Owing to this connection, M. Escander was much more esteemed at Court. M. Scander's first-born son by the said Juliana was our Founder Mirza Zulcarnen, a name given him as a favour by King Acbar himself, this being the name of Alexander the Great, whom they call Scander Zulcarnen.<sup>4</sup> A year later, Bibi Juliana<sup>5</sup> gave birth to another son, named M. Scanderus,<sup>6</sup> who died lately.<sup>7</sup> The King, of his || special affection for Bibi Juliana, gave both the boys to one of the Queens, who was childless, to be adopted and educated as her own children. She did so, and brought them up in the royal palace until they were twelve years old, when, the laws of the women's quarters not allowing them to continue there any longer, they left and went to their father's house. King Acbar tried to marry M. Scander with a sister of Bibi Juliana now dead<sup>8</sup>; but, as Fr. Jeronimo Xavier and the rest of the Fathers objected, the good King, understanding that it could not be done without a dispensation from the Holy Father, resolved to ask this favour from His Holiness through Our Father

<sup>1</sup> *Ex MSS. Soc. Jesu, Goana Hist., 1600-1624 (Goa, 33), foll. 671r-678v.*—Portuguese. Fr. Corsi's autograph.

Begins: *Da origem da Fundação do Collegio inchoato na Cidade de Agra feita por Mirza Zulcarné, e aceita polo N. R. P. Geral Mutio Vitellesqi o anno 1621.*

<sup>2</sup> Portuguese India.—M. Sikandar, senior, is called an Armenian from Aleppo; but we shall hear Father Botelho tell us by and by that he was not an Armenian. Zū-l-Qarnain's uncle, Janibeg, is called a Chaldean by Father de Castro (Janibeg's chaplain?) in a letter from Sāmbar, July 20, 1645. In a discussion with Akbar in 1581, Monserrate refutes "the common error which calls all the Asiatic Christians Armenians, whereas many are Greeks, Chaldeans, Syrians, and a few Nestorians, just as it calls Franks the Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and Germans." Cf. *Memoirs A.S.B.*, III, 609.

<sup>3</sup> Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Hayy. He died therefore after 1600.

<sup>4</sup> Sikandar Zū-l-Qarnain=Alexander, the two-horned. The marriage must have taken place about 1590. Zū-l-Qarnain was born in 1592, considering that he was 14 years old in 1606, and 20 in 1613 (cf. p. 133).

<sup>5</sup> Bibi=lady, queen. The name Juliana is not Armenian. Perhaps she had been baptised by Fr. Julian Pereira, who first came to Fatehpur Sikri (1578-80).

<sup>6</sup> Mirzā Iškandarūs. Both the father and his two sons had names representing Alexander. The Relation of 1606 makes M. Iškandarūs three years younger than his brother M. Zū-l-Qarnain. He was born in 1595, therefore.

<sup>7</sup> *Pouco depois se morreo* might mean: he died shortly after. We translate as above in view of certain remarks which follow.

<sup>8</sup> Bibi Juliana must have died before 1598, since it was in 1598 at the latest that Mirzā Sikandar, senior, married Juliana's sister.

General. The Supreme Pontiff granted it him by word of mouth (*vivae vocis oraculo*), and gave orders to write that he granted this dispensation, because the request came from so high a King, one who so greatly favoured in his Kingdom Christianity and the ministers of the Holy Gospel. It was at this time, in February of the year 1600, that I arrived at this Court.

“Shortly after the two boys had left the Queen’s house, King Acbar died. His son, King Jahangir, succeeded him, and, at the instigation of some Grandees of his Court, he tried to make the two boys renounce the law of Jesus Christ and embrace the law of the Moors. In fact, he ordered them || to be circumcised by force, and first he had so many lashes given to each that the bodies of both were covered with blood and with the marks of the cruel stripes, as I myself saw; for I accompanied Fr. Jeronimo Xavier, who, on hearing of the case, went at once to visit, console and encourage them. And, though the two, mere children yet, showed some weakness in this encounter (*auto*), by pronouncing under the lashes certain words of the creed of the Moorish law, still I am of opinion that we may regard them as Confessors of the law of Jesus Christ. Indeed, during this same tragic affair, after the boys had uttered the said words, they strongly resisted when they tried forcibly to circumcise them. Amid tears, M. Zulcarnen clamoured to the King: ‘Sire, tell them to cut off our head, not the foreskin!’ What strengthens me in this belief is what happened shortly after; for the King, regretting already what he had done, told both the boys to live in the law of Jesus Christ like their father; and so they have been doing until now, through the Lord’s mercy.<sup>1</sup> M. Zulcarnen, in particular, worthily redeemed his weakness as a child. When he was come to man’s estate, and had become one of the King’s nobles (*fidalgo*), charged with important commissions, the King gave him many times occasion to discuss in his presence and before the whole Court about the things of our || Holy Law against the highest and wisest Moors in the King’s entourage. He would do it so ably that the King himself *applaudabat et approbat quae dicebat* (would applaud and approve what he said), and he showed such zeal that Fr. Jose de Castro, who was always present, wrote to me several times, and related to me orally, that he could not have done it better himself. Fol. 672r.

“In 1613, when M. Zulcarnen was twenty years old, his father M. Scander died.<sup>2</sup> He left a very large fortune, which was distributed among the four sons he left behind (two by his first wife, and two by his second), in conformity with the testament which he had drawn up through Fr. Jeronimo Xavier. In the said testament M. Scander left twenty thousand Rupees to be distributed as follows for the good of his soul:— Fol. 672v.

<sup>1</sup> This compared with the statement *pouco depois se morreo* (*supra*, p. 132 n. 7) shows that Mirzā Iškandarūs, Zū-l-Qarnain’s brother, had died shortly before Father Corsi wrote, *i. e.*, before May 1628.

<sup>2</sup> We do not know where Mirzā Sikandar (senior) and Bibi Juliana were buried.

|                                                                                                         | Rs.    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| For the Armenian Fathers who are in Jerusalem ..                                                        | 6,000  |
| For the Fathers of St. Francis in Jerusalem <sup>1</sup> ..                                             | 1,000  |
| For the Fathers of St. Francis in Halepo <sup>2</sup> ..                                                | 500    |
| For the Fathers of St. Francis at Bethlehem <sup>3</sup> ..                                             | 500    |
| For the Church and the Christians of Lahor ..                                                           | 2,000  |
| For the Church and the Christians of Agra ..                                                            | 4,000  |
| For his grave with a chapel ..                                                                          | 3,000  |
| For widows and marriage dowries for orphan girls ..                                                     | 2,000  |
| For saying Masses at Goa ..                                                                             | 400    |
| For arranging ( <i>pera concertar</i> ) a cemetery for the deceased Christians of Lahor <sup>4</sup> .. | 600    |
| Total ..                                                                                                | 20,000 |

“ M. Scander ordained further that, as to the specified property which he left to the King, four portions should be made of whatever the King might not take, but leave to his sons; three-fourths of this to be divided among his children, and one-fourth to be given to the Fathers of the Society at Agra and spent by them in pious works at their discretion. In fact, the King left to the sons of M. Scander many of the things they offered him from their late father; and, as it was very difficult to verify from reliable accounts (*averiguarse por contas certas*) how much the said one-fourth amounted to, Fr. Xavier and Mirza agreed that, so long as the matter was not ascertained more clearly, the said fourth part would be seven thousand rupees. Besides, as M. Zulcarnen was nearly sure that, after the division of the property, his three brothers would not pay their share of the alms, he took upon himself of his own accord, and with the consent of his brothers, the whole of this obligation,||

<sup>1</sup> From the 13th century Catholicism was upheld in the Holy Land almost exclusively by the Franciscans. The Order has a special province, the *Custodia Terra Sanctæ*, the head of which, till 1847 the supreme authority for Catholics in Palestine, is the Franciscan Provincial, the *Custos Terra Sanctæ*. The Franciscans have at Jerusalem the little Convent of the Holy Sepulchre with the Chapel of the Apparition, that forms the northern part of the group of buildings at the Anastasis. This has been Franciscan property since the 13th century.

The Gregorian Armenians possess at the Holy Sepulchre the Chapel of St. Helena, of St. John, of the “ Division of Garments,” of St. James (behind the Anastasis), and “ the Stone of the Holy Women.” They have further the right of walking in procession about the Anastasis, and take their turn to celebrate their offices at it. They have other establishments in Jerusalem. Cf. ADRIAN PORTESCUE in *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, VIII.

It would seem that Zū-l-Qarnain's benefactions to the Armenian Fathers of Jerusalem went to the Gregorian Armenians, non-Catholics, which makes us suppose that his father Sikandar was not originally a Catholic.

<sup>2</sup> The Christian population of Aleppo is now 19,000 Catholics (Greeks, United or Melchites, Syrians, Armenians, Maronites, Chaldeans and Latins), 2,800 non-Catholic Christians (mostly Gregorian Armenians). Four Catholic Archbishops govern the Melchites, the Syrians, the Armenians, the Maronites. The Gregorian Armenians are administered by a Vartabet appointed by the Catholicos of Sis. Cf. S. PÉTRIDÈS in *Catholic Encycl.*, New York, s.v., Aleppo.

<sup>3</sup> Bethlehem counts to-day 5,000 Latins, 100 Catholic Melchite Greeks, 4,000 Greeks and a few Armenians. The Franciscans govern the Latin parish. The greater part of the Church of the Nativity is now shared by different Communion; while the choir belongs to the Greeks alone, the Grotto of the Nativity is open to the Latins, the Greeks and the Armenians, who hold services there each in turn. Cf. S. VAILLÉ in *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, s.v., Bethlehem.

<sup>4</sup> Where was that cemetery? It must have contained Armenian tombs.

and gave Fr. Jeronimo Xavier a voucher to the effect that he owed twenty-seven thousand Rupees, left by his father for the rest of his soul.<sup>1</sup> And, according as Mirza kept paying, it was noted down in the said voucher, as follows :—

*“Memo of payments made by M. Zulcarnen in compliance with his obligation towards his father's will.*

|                                                                                                                                                                 | Rs.    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| We received from M. Zulcarnen six thousand Rupees sent to the Armenian Fathers in Jerusalem .. ..                                                               | 6,000  |
| Other one thousand Rupees sent to the Fathers of St. Francis in Jerusalem .. ..                                                                                 | 1,000  |
| Other one thousand Rupees, of which Rs. 500 were sent to Halepo, and Rs. 500 to Bethlehem, to the Fathers of St. Francis .. ..                                  | 1,000  |
| We sent to Goa for Masses .. ..                                                                                                                                 | 400    |
| Mirza gave for sundry marriages .. ..                                                                                                                           | 620    |
| He gave again to Fr. Jeronimo Xavier, when he went to Goa at the King's order .. ..                                                                             | 490    |
| He gave again for his father's tomb and chapel ..                                                                                                               | 3,000  |
| Fr. Jeronimo Xavier also gave Mirza a paper good for one thousand Rupees to be spent at [his] discretion on pious works, by the terms of the above-said will .. | 1,000  |
| Fr. Antonio Machado, being Superior, also gave Mirza a paper in the said form to the value of .. ..                                                             | 500    |
| Total of the above .. ..                                                                                                                                        | 14,010 |

Fol. 674r.

“ In the year 1614, the Portuguese having seized at Surat a ship belonging to the King's subjects, they ordered us to close our churches in these parts,<sup>2</sup> and took from us the alms which the King used to give us ; hence, to maintain ourselves and the poor Christians, we were obliged to melt down (*desfazer*) and sell two gold chalices and the candlesticks and other silver furniture of the church, and we were, so to say, constrained to stop giving the ordinary alms to many widows and poor Christians. M. Zulcarnen, on learning this, said to Fr. Jeronimo Xavier that he would keep on his establishment all the Christians who would be willing (in fact, he kept many, both foot and horse), and that he would give to all the widows and other poor Christians the same alms as they used to receive daily. To this effect, he began from the month of July of the year 1614 to give us every month two hundred rupees deducible from his debt, and we received it monthly and put it down in the aforesaid

<sup>1</sup> i.e., Rs. 20,000, as shown by the total in our list above, and Rs. 7,000 agreed upon between Fr. Jerome Xavier and M. Zū-l-Qarnain as constituting one-fourth of what did not belong to Jahāngir.

<sup>2</sup> The Jesuit Letters of the period (MSS.) and the letters of the English factors contain much information on this incident. Cf. e.g., W. NOEL SAINSBURY, *Calendar of State Papers* (1513-1616), London, 1862, pp. 251, 258, 259, 260, 316, 321, 327, 331, 333, 334, 346, 349, 357.



we have in the North. They cost twenty-seven thousand rupees.<sup>1</sup> So, we had a debt of seven thousand rupees; but, we paid off at once four thousand rupees which Mirza gave us, and the rest was repaid. But, as at that time Fr. Andre Boves was Superior and had this matter in hand, I do not well remember how the sum was paid.<sup>2</sup> However, I always considered it certain that it was paid, either from the extraordinary alms Mirza gave us, or from the revenues which the *aldeas* were already yielding for us. When these *aldeas* were bought, our Fathers in India, knowing Mirza's good heart and how great and munificent a benefactor he was to us, resolved in the Congregation then held to petition our Father General in behalf of the whole Province || to accept Mirza as a founder.<sup>3</sup> Our Father General granted the favour, as appears from a letter of our Father Assistant, dated the 31st December 1621, in answer to one of Fr. Jose de Castro. He says:—

Fol. 673v.

<sup>1</sup> "Paréla [Parel, Bombay] is another house [of the Jesuits] with a church, closer to the town [of Bombay], the revenues of which went to the College of Agra. This villa has passed under the English jurisdiction." Cf. BERNOUILLI, *Description Hist et Géogr. de l'Inde*, I. (1786), p. 411.—"A Franciscan chapel is said to have been built at Parel. At some later date, the estates on which this church stood, and possibly the church itself, passed into the hands of the Jesuits of Bandra [some time before 1653, and probably about 1620]. When the Jesuit property was finally confiscated by the Government in 1720, this chapel and the residence attached were utilised with additions as 'Government House.' The chapel still remains embodied in the building of the Government laboratory, now used for the manufacture of-plague prophylactic. The designation of the chapel is unknown." Cf. E. HULL, S.J., *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1907, Aug. 31, p. 343. The date 1620 is the more correct one, as we now see. "The Jesuits of Bandra were large land-owners in the northern parts of the island of Bombay (Parel, Naigaon, Vadala, Mahim, Dharavi, etc.). They held this property in trust as a source of revenue for the support of various missions, such as those of Goa, Cochin, Agra, Japan, China, etc., and different Fathers or lay-brothers were appointed as procurators of the same. When in 1665 Bombay was handed over to the English, the Jesuits laid claim to these lands, but were refused. The matter gave friction from time to time between the Portuguese and the English—which reached a climax in 1719, when the Government finally declared the property of the Order confiscated to the Crown" *Id.*, *ibid.*, August 3, 1907, p. 304. See also Aug. 31, 1907, pp. 343-344; Oct. 5, 1907, pp. 394-395. Fr. E. Hull suggests very correctly that the Jesuits secured landed property in Portuguese territory to evade the difficulties of the Moslem property-law. In fact, all the land belonged to the King and all property of the Grandees reverted to the Crown after their death.

"The first founder of the Agra College and of its Mission was Senhor Mirza Zulcarne, who gave a sum sufficient to buy the village (*aldeia*) of Parela in Bombaim and another called... in Salcete of the North. From Parela that Mission received eight thousand xerafins, and from 4 to 5 [thousand] from... [the other *aldeia* (?); the name of the *aldeia* is missing in the original, as above]. But, as the English took Parela, the College and the Mission were much crippled and in debt, until the Senhora Juliana Dias da Costa offered to become a second and new foundress; she gave 50 thousand xerafins, which being profitably placed partly met with the revenues of the *aldeia* and other values (*estimações*) the necessities of the Mission, which costs yearly from 9 to 10 thousand xerafins, owing to the great dearness in those lands and the enormous expenses incurred by the journey of the Fathers and sending up their provisions." (*L. o das Monções*, No. 79, fol. 331). Extract from Annual Letter of Fr. Antonio de Azevedo, Provincial S.J., Goa, 1714. Cf. *O Oriente Portuguez*, Nova Goa, Vol. VII, 1910, pp. 182-183.

<sup>2</sup> Father Andrew Boves is to be added to our *List of Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor*, J.A.S.B., 1910, November. Since he is called Superior, not Provincial, he must have been Superior of Mogor. His notice in our *List of Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal*, J.A.S.B., 1911, Febr., p. 16, says that he was seven years in Mogor, whence, knowing nothing then of his Superiorship at Agra, we concluded in 1911 that, as he was a Missionary in Bengal, he had spent in Bengal the period 1600-05. We now find that he wrote a letter from Cochin on Nov. 30, 1605, at which time he must have become Procurator at Cochin. It is not easy to account for the seven years he spent in Mogor, unless we include in them his stay in Bengal. He is not mentioned in what we know of the Mogor Catalogues of 1606-24; yet, only the catalogues of 1608, 1617, 1619, 1622-23 are missing. No catalogues for Mogor are available between 1625 and 1641. We suggest that Fr. Boves was Superior of Mogor some time between 1621 and 1624.

<sup>3</sup> The printed Annual Letters of Goa for 1619, 1620-24 say nothing of a Congregation held at this time. A Congregation was held at Lisbon in April 1619, April 1622, April 1625.

The Procurators sent from Portugal to Rome on those respective occasions were Fathers Antonio Castelbranco, Antonio Abreu, and Francisco Mendoza. Cf. A. FRANCO, S.J., *Synopsis Annal. Soc. Jesu in Lusitania* (1540-1725), Augustae-Vind., MDCCXXVI, pp. 226, 233, 243.



“ ‘ The foundation of the Prince Mirza is accepted with the gratitude due to one so great and so devoted to the Society and to the Christian weal ; and the examples of his life, which your Reverence described, well show how much God has imparted Himself to him. Doubtless, He has chosen him to be the pillar of that small church, and the foundation of the great one we hope to see raised in those Provinces. Let your Reverence assist him and try to serve him in everything, as is due to so noble a heart in return for the favours he bestows on us.’

“ ‘ After this announcement and good news, we hoped that the [diploma of the] foundation would come at once from Rome ; but, in the year 1625, seeing that it was so long delayed, I, being again Superior of the Mission,<sup>1</sup> wrote lengthily about this affair to the Fr. Visitor, Andre Palmeiro,<sup>2</sup> and complained lovingly that there should have been so much forgetfulness in a matter of such moment. The Father answered me by the present letter here appended :—

“ ‘ To FR. FRANCISCO CORSI OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

Fol. 676r. “ ‘ With regard to making Mirza Founder || of a College, which Your Reverence spoke to me about, this matter was referred to Our Reverend Father General years ago, and it was done also at the last Congregation, [the proceedings of] which Fr. Manoel Mendez has now brought us with its answers.<sup>3</sup> There is a special answer to your Reverence’s petition. I shall put it down here, both the application and the answer to it.

“ ‘ It was represented on behalf of the Mogol Mission that the noble Mirza Zulcarnen—such is his devotion and charity towards the Society and the whole of that Mission—was offering willingly to invest the sum of money required for a yearly revenue of one thousand five hundred xerafins,<sup>4</sup> a sum sufficient for maintaining the labourers of that Mission and supporting the poor Christians. This had been done heretofore with the King’s alms, now greatly reduced. It is asked that he be received as founder of a *Collegium inchoatum* for that Mission. The whole Congregation therefore petitions Our Reverend Father to comply with the wishes of so great a man, one who has so well deserved of the Society, and to have regard to the interests of that Mission.’

“ ‘ The answer is as follows :—

“ ‘ We complied long ago with the pious wishes of that excellent gentleman. May the All-Good God *increase the growth of the fruits of his justice*<sup>5</sup> and finish what He has begun in him and through him. The interests of the Mogol Mission, one of

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Corsi must have succeeded as Superior of the Mission to Fr. Antonio d’ Andrade, who went a first time to Tibet in 1624 and returned thither in 1625.

<sup>2</sup> He had come to India in 1617.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Manoel Mendez came to India in 1625 with eleven companions : ten Portuguese, and one a Pole. The date of their embarking at Lisbon and of their arrival at Goa is not stated in A. FRANCO, S.J., *Op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> The xerafin is calculated as equivalent to somewhat less than 1s. 6d. in *Hobson-Jobson*. Its value has varied. In one of the quotations of *Hobson-Jobson* (1st edn., p. 743) it is equal at Bombay to 5 tangas (A.D. 1675); (*ibid.*, p. 867) it is equal to a cruzado (A.D. 1540); in 1653, at Goa, it represents 6 tangas; and I find in FARIA Y SOUZA, *Asia Portuguesa*, III, 363, No. 12, that it was equal to about a real of eight in 1636. Now a real of eight or a peso was worth Rs. 2 of the then currency.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Cor. ix. 10.

the most glorious to the Christian Religion, || lie very near to our heart, nor shall we ever neglect anything that may tend to protect and promote it.' Fol. 676v.

" 'Now, both this application and the fact that an earlier application had been presented to him [the General], allusion to which is made in the beginning of this reply, was unknown to me until I received this reply and Your Reverence's letter. And since, as you see in the beginning of the answer, in the word *annuimus* (we complied) Our Reverend Father refers to the first letter written to him, I have looked for that answer to know in what form the concession was made; but, so far I could not trace it among the letters of that time; still, I shall examine more carefully the moment I find leisure, and I hope to send you a clear solution before my departure for China. From Goa, the 28th of November [1]625. ANDRE PALMEIRO.'

" It seems, however, that his many occupations made the Father lose sight of this affair of ours; for, he left Goa and bade us good-bye in a special letter without a word about this matter.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, I wrote about it to Our Father General; for I considered it a great blemish on our part that we should have received the foundation, and should be enjoying the revenues of it, Fr. Assistant's letters being there to certify that the foundation had been received, and yet, years after it, our Superiors knew nothing of it. I wrote to the same effect to Fr. Valentin Carvalho, as soon as he became our Provincial. In June [1]627 he wrote to me in answer to this point:— Fol. 677r.

" 'With reference to the foundation of the Senhor Mirza, I say that it is accepted by our Reverend Father General, and in the letter now sent herewith in answer to the said Senhor's letter to me, I reply to him in that sense. Your Reverence may tell Mirza the same. Still, we shall write to Our Father asking him to acknowledge in due form the acceptance of the *Collegium inchoatum* founded by Mirza. I am of opinion that it was sent five years ago in the ships in which the Count Viceroy came, because no post reached Goa that year and all the letters were lost.'<sup>2</sup>

" On receipt of these letters of the Fr. Provincial, I presented to Mirza the one intended for him and told him by word of mouth what the Father directed me in mine to do, and, from that time, by order of Holy obedience, Mirza was here held by Ours as the Founder of the *Collegium inchoatum* of Agra, as it is called.

" The accounts given above show that Mirza owed by the terms of his father's will.....Rs. 27,000,  
of which he has paid.....Rs. 24,810.

" This at the end of the year [1] 618, when || the accounts were made. I shall now show how he has satisfied the remainder of his obligations. Fol. 677v.

" When I proposed to Mirza that he should give us in a lump sum twenty thousand Rupees, I meant that he should give the said sum instead of the Rs. 200 which

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Andrew Palmeiro is shown as having arrived in China in 1628. He died at Macao on April 4. 1635. Cf. *Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum S.J. qui...in Sinis adlaboraverunt*, Chang-hai, 1892, pp. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion must be to the armada of four ships which left Lisbon on March 18, 1622. Count de Vidigueyra, Don Francisco de Gama, for the second time appointed Viceroy of India, was Captain-in-chief. The ship of the Admiral, D Francisco Mascareñas, fought the Dutch at the entrance of Mozambique and was lost. The Capitana, the *S. Teresa*, was also lost at Mozambique. Cf. FARIA Y SOUSA, *Asia Portuguesa*, III. 381, 382, 554, 555.

he gave us monthly ; but the Holy Ghost granted him grace to make him do more than what I dared ask. 'Father,' he told me, 'I cannot know exactly how much I owe towards my father's legacy, and it is impossible to ascertain the matter from account-books (*por contas*), as Your Reverence knows. Hence, I wish to continue giving Rs. 200 every month, and God Our Lord, Who knows it all full well, will accept whatever I owe for the good of my father's soul, and what I give over and above He will accept for the good of mine.' Mirza continued to give the said alms ; he continues still up to the present month of May of [1]628, when I write this ; so that, between the end of the year 1618, when the accounts were made, and the end of the current month of May of [1]628, *i.e.*, during nine years and four months, we received, merely on account of this monthly allowance of Rs. 200, . . . . . Rs. 22,400,

[*The top of foll. 678r and 678v is somewhat damaged ; but the sense can be made out.*]

Fol. 678r. which, added to the aforesaid sum of . . . . . Rs. [24,810], makes in all . . . . . Rs. [47,210], or much more, it is clear, than what his father left to be given for his soul's welfare. And besides the said sum of Rs. 47,210, he gave us in a lump sum twenty thousand Rupees and the rest on other occasions, with which sum we purchased, as mentioned above, the *aldeas* for the foundation of the *Collegium inchoatum*.

" Besides, if it were necessary, I could draw up a list of other large extraordinary alms which Mirza gave us, both in gold and silver plate for the Church, and in cash for good works, the whole amounting, I should think, to forty thousand Rupees. Again, Mirza maintained since 1614, and is still maintaining at Sambar in the present year [1]628, when I am writing, many widows and poor Christians ; he took also into his service many other Christians, not so much because he stood in need of their services, but because they were Christians. You may guess from this how much money he must have been spending. He did the same for many of his relatives, persons of rank, but poor, many of them. Considering that they lived and live as Mirza's retainers and draw large salaries, he spent also much on them. I omit || the many . . . other sums which Mirza always gave [in alms] to others, non-Christians. In one day alone he gave five thousand Rupees for ransoming captives taken in a certain war in which, by the King's order, he had also taken part, and he ordered that none of his captains should [keep ? ransom ?] any of them. I omit all this, because it is foreign to my purpose, which is :—

Fol. 678r.

" 1st, to show clearly and to evidence how Mirza complied with what his father ordered in his will should be given for the good of his soul, since he gave much more ;

" 2nd, how he gave us, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, enough to provide for the foundation of the *Collegium inchoatum* of Agra ; hence, it is our clear duty to give him the title of Founder ;

" 3rd, how, besides being a real Founder, he is also a munificent benefactor of the Society and of this small Christianity of Mogol ; therefore, we owe him Masses and prayers, not only as to a Founder, but also as to a munificent benefactor. We particu-

larly, who belong to this Mission, and all the Christians of it, must pray in a special manner to God Our Lord for the safety and welfare of Mirza and all those of his household; we must ask God to save him many years for his greater glory and the good of this Christianity.

“Agra, in May of the year 1628.

I. H. S.

FRANCISCO CORSI.”

There must exist in printed books, accounts of travellers, letters of merchants and factors, or even in the Muḥammadan historians a number of interesting entries about Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain. We shall quote those we have come across, and we hope that more will be found.

Between 1627 and 1632, Zū-l-Qarnain was in charge of a Province in Bengal, the capital of which was 200 miles from Agra and 300 from Hugli. He had about 200 Christians in his service, a number sufficiently large to justify the presence of a chaplain. Fr. Joseph de Castro had followed him. Fr. Francisco Morando was there also some time.

Father de Castro wrote from ‘Mogol’ on August 8th, 1632, to Father Joseph Baudo, S.J., Turin, that he had been with the Mirzā those last three years. The Mirzā had all that time been Governor of some Provinces of ‘Bengala,’ but the capital is nowhere mentioned in de Castro’s letters.

In 1632 the difficulties between the Portuguese of Hugli and Shāh Jahān came to a crisis. One of Shāh Jahān’s grievances was that they had sent him no embassy of congratulation on his accession to the throne. Hugli was invested on June 24th, 1632, and taken at the end of September of the same year. Fully 4,000 Christian prisoners arrived from Hugli at Agra in July 1633.

Meanwhile Zū-l-Qarnain and the Christians of Agra were also to taste the gall and wormwood of persecution.

On November 24th, 1632, Father de Castro wrote from Agra to the General of the Society that he had arrived from Bengala eight days before. The King had recalled the Mirzā, and received him with much honour, so that the Fathers hoped he would receive some other honourable commission. On the other hand, the events then taking place in Bengal were ominously shaping the situation at Agra, and it was feared that the King, who had from the beginning of his reign shown himself hostile to the Christians, was preparing worse days for them.

The Muḥammadan historians are not altogether silent about some of these events. As it is quite rare for them to go out of their way to notice Christians, we must not lose anything of what they have to say of Zū-l-Qarnain.

The *‘Amal Ṣāliḥ*, a big MS. history dealing with the reign of Shāh Jahān, narrates under the 5th year of the reign (1632) that Zū-l-Qarnain, whom it calls Zū-l-Qarnain Feringhī, came from Bahraich in Oudh, where he was Faujdār, and paid his respects to Shāh Jahān, presenting five elephants as his nazr. Bahraich was then a likely place to get elephants from. The MS. adds that Zū-l-Qarnain had been

attached to the Court from childhood and that he was a favourite on account of his rare knowledge of Hindustānī music and melody.<sup>1</sup>

A note in the translation of the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (II. 194n.) states that M. Wārīs's continuation of the *Pādīshāh-nāma*, p. 392, of Brit. Mus. MS., mentions that Zū-l-Qarnain Farangī came from Bengal and presented poems which he had composed on Shāh Jahān's name, for which he got Rs. 4,000.

Mr. H. Beveridge favours me with several interesting observations concerning the Mirzā's return from Bharaich and his removal from office.

"Father Joseph de Castro says that they arrived at Agra on November 16th, 1632. The native writers, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and 'Abdu-l-Hamīd, do not specify the corresponding date of Zū-l-Qarnain's arrival. But the *Bādshāhnāma*, on the same page that it records his presenting five elephants, has the date 12th Jamādā-l-awwal 1042, which corresponds to 15th November, 1632. The entry of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain's presentation precedes this by a few lines; so we may suppose it occurred a little earlier in November. This would not, I think, conflict with Father de Castro's statement that they arrived eight days before the 24th November, for I fancy that the Father's dates are according to the Gregorian Calendar, that is, they are New Style, whereas Gladwin's Tables, which I use, are, I believe, Old Style. So, the corresponding Hijra date would be ten days earlier according to the Gregorian Calendar and so would correspond to 5th November or so. All Catholics, I believe, accepted the Gregorian Calendar in the 16th century, whereas England adopted it two centuries later.<sup>2</sup> The difficulty about the date may be got over by the difference of Calendars, or, as the *Bādshāhnāma* does not give the date of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain's arrival, it may be that we must not press the question of the exact dates too closely. It may also be that there is an error of a day or two in Father de Castro's statement.

"The entry of the 15th November in the *Bādshāhnāma* is a curious one. It gives an account of a discussion about Alexander the Great. Āṣaf Khān extolled the character of Alexander the Great, and said no one had ever shown that he did or said anything bad. Shāh Jahān replied that, of course, if Alexander the Great was a Prophet, nothing could be said against him. But, this was not proved, and so Shāh Jahān thought exception might be taken first to a saying of Alexander's and secondly to an action of his. The saying was that when Darius's ambassador asked Alexander for tribute, Alexander replied that the hen was dead that had laid the golden eggs. This, in Shāh Jahān's opinion, was an unworthy remark, for Alexander meant his father Philip, when he spoke of the hen. Now, it was very disrespectful to compare one's father to such a paltry thing as a hen! The other exception he would take was that he thought Alexander had done an imprudent and even wicked thing in going to Nostraba, the Queen of Barda, disguised as his own ambassador.

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this paragraph and its reflections was kindly communicated to me by Mr. H. Beveridge. (May 5, 1913). The passage occurs in Vol. I, fol. 178v of the India Office copy of the *Amal Ṣāliḥ*, after an account of the taking of Hugl and just before the betrothal of Dārā Shikoh to Sultān Parviz's daughter. Mr. Beveridge also points out that a shorter entry about Zū-l-Qarnain's return from his faujdārship of Bahraich and his presenting five elephants to the King is found in the *Pādīshāh-nāma*, Bibl. Ind. edn., I. 446. [II, 184.

<sup>2</sup> The Gregorian Calendar came into vogue in India in Oct. 1583. Cf. de Souza's *Oriente Conquistado*, Lisbon edn.,

"It has occurred to me that it would not be too fanciful to suppose that this discussion about Zū-l-Qarnain might have arisen from the coincidence of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain's arrival in Agra. He might even have been present at the discussion!

"Another curious thing about the entry of Zū-l-Qarnain's presentation in the *Bādshāhnāma* is the fact that it is immediately followed by a statement of Shāh Jahān's resolve to give a preference to Muḥammadans in making appointments. This would give colour to Father de Castro's statement that the Mirzā was removed from office."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. H. Beveridge expresses his surprise that, if Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain was Governor of Bharaich, Fr. de Castro should say he was in Bengal, and Sir Richard Carnac Temple (*The Travels of Peter Mundy*, II. 380 n. 1) remarks that, if he was at Bharaich, the distance from Hugli would be twice as great as stated. I have found lately in a letter by Fr. d'Azevedo, Agra (undated letter, but belonging to the first months of 1632), that Don Gonçalo, as the Mirzā was called, was at "Gorepur" in 1631, which we should identify with Gorākhpur in the United Provinces. This brings the Mirzā nearer to Bengal and Hugli, but produces, perhaps, a discrepancy between d'Azevedo and the Muḥammadan authors. In the *Aīn*, Bharaich appears as a Sarkār of 11 mahals, while Gorākhpur contained 24 parganahs.

On February 6th, 1633, Fr. J. de Castro wrote from Agra that the bell of their church had been removed on the day of the Epiphany (January 6th, 1633); four *piyādās* had been posted in the house to keep watch day and night, and the Fathers had been forbidden to make any converts. The Mirzā had shown himself firm in certain demands of the King touching the faith. As for Hugli, the news had reached them that the town had been sacked.

Fr. Francis Corsi wrote to the General (Agra, October 5th, 1633) that they had been a whole year subject to persecution. In September 1632, the Mirzā's step-mother and his two half-brothers had been seized, their property taken, and the two half-brothers had of their own accord become Muḥammadans, hoping thus to save themselves. Then the Mirzā was recalled from "Bengal," and Shāh Jahān wished to make a Muḥammadan of him too, or else seize his treasures. He began, however, by molesting the Fathers. On the day of the Epiphany 1633, their house was invaded by armed soldiery, and the three bells—one of them a present from Jahāngīr—were removed from the steeple. Even one of their great friends, a former pupil of theirs, turned against the Fathers. Fr. Corsi, going to his house on February 18th, was severely ill-treated. On February 23rd, the Fathers were suddenly ordered to leave their house and kept four days in prison. On being allowed to go home, they found everything in such disorder that it took them eight days to fit it up again. On March 6th, a Sunday, they said Mass again; but the judge came that day, sat down, called the

<sup>1</sup> Letter of July 21, 1913. Two days later, Mr. H. Beveridge wrote: "I see from the *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 195, that one Šāliḥ, a brother's son of Jāfar Beg Āṣaf Khān, was made faujdār of Bahraich in the year of the accession 1037 (A.D. 1628). Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain was perhaps his successor. I have a doubt in my mind, however, if the place mentioned in p. 195 be Bahraich. It is spelt Bahraij, and possibly Broach in Gujarāt is meant. Before that, Šāliḥ was faujdār of Pilād, which is in Gujarāt.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Aīn*, II. 93 (Jarrett's transl.).

Mirzā and began tormenting several persons to know where his treasures were. Fr. de Castro received in three times fifty lashes. After the fourth or fifth blow he had fallen senseless to the ground. That night the Mirzā was taken to the palace, and the four Fathers were the next day conducted to prison. On March 13th, they were released together with the Mirzā, when the latter promised he would pay the sum they wanted: 400,000 scudi. By and by, they wanted more, and both the Mirzā's and the Fathers' house and garden were searched. Nothing being found, the police left the Fathers alone that night. The Mirzā had paid 3 lākhs of scudi already, but had to pay still one lākh. From a rich man he was now reduced to poverty; but the Fathers hoped the King would sooner or later reinstate him.

On October 8th, 1633, Fr. J. de Castro wrote from Agra to Fr. Nuno Mascarenhas, the Assistant of Portugal, that the Mirzā had to pay 8 lākhs of rupees, or about 400,000 cruzados. To help him as much as they could, they had given back to him the golden chalice which he had presented to the Church in the days of his opulence.

Peter Mundy, a servant of the E. I. Co., who held office at Surat and Agra, and had been sent on a commercial mission to Patna in 1632, was not far wrong when he remarked on March 11th, 1633, while at Mozābād, on his way from Agra to Surat *viā* Ajmer: "Seven Course Northward lyes Sambar [Sāmbhar], the Jagguere (*jagīr*) of Mirza Zilkurne [Zu'lkārnain, Alexander] of 1000 horse pay, each horse 25 rupees per moneth, whoe is now putt out [from his governorship in Bengal] and made Tagguere [*taghīr*, dismissed], himselfe, wife, Children and servants in prison, because the King is informed hee hath store of money and demaunds of him 60 lack, haveing sent Pioneers [investigators] to search and digg his howse. Before I came away [from Agra] hee offers 5 lack, which will not bee accepted, soe remains still prisoner. Hee is a Christian and the Cheifest in all India, formerly in favour."<sup>1</sup>

We saw that the persecution against Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain and the Jesuit Fathers of Agra began with an order from Shāh Jahān to the effect that they were to remove the bells from the steeple of their Church. Hence, we can scarcely accept as accurate the reason assigned for Shāh Jahān's action by Tavernier (1656) in a passage where Zū-l-Qarnain is evidently mentioned, though not by name. It would have been to Zū-l-Qarnain the very climax of calamity, had he been unwillingly the cause of Shāh Jahān's action against the Fathers.

After remarking that Shāh Jahān had allowed some Christian paintings to remain near Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, Tavernier proceeds: "But he had not the same indulgence for them [the Fathers] in another matter, for on going one day to see a sick Armenian, named Cotgia<sup>2</sup> . . . , whom he much loved, and whom he had honoured with splendid appointments, and the Jesuits, who had their house close to that of the Armenian, happening to ring their bell just then, the noise proved displeasing to the King, and, as he thought it might inconvenience the sick man, in a rage he commanded

<sup>1</sup> Note communicated by Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Cf. his *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. II. 240-241.

<sup>2</sup> *Khoja* or *Khwāja* was a common title of honour among merchants and others. There is a hiatus here in the original. Probably Tavernier did not recollect the name.

it to be removed and hung on the neck of his elephant; this was promptly done. Some days after, the King, seeing the elephant with this heavy bell suspended from its neck, he thought that so great a weight might injure it, and he therefore ordered it to be carried into the office of the *Couteval* [kotwāl, police-magistrate], which is a sort of barrier where a provost administers justice to those of the quarter, and it has remained there ever since. This Armenian had been brought up with *Shāh Jahān*, and, as he was very clever and was an excellent poet, he was high in the good graces of the King, who had given him valuable governorships, but had never been able, either by promises or threats, to induce him to become a *Muḥammadan*.”<sup>1</sup>

Zū-l-Qarnain was not long molested. He paid 8 lākhs of rupees, was reduced for a time to extreme penury, and then gradually rose again to favour. Many of the Portuguese captives from Hugli were “released,” says Manucci, “through the petitions of some persons at court, chiefly an Armenian, who was a great favourite, or through the money paid by a Venetian, my compatriot, called Hieronimo Veroneo, a man ransomed by the Portuguese.”<sup>2</sup> The reference belongs to the period between 1633 and 1640, since Veroneo died in 1640.

On November 2nd, 1633, Zū-l-Qarnain assisted at the burial of Fr. Matthew de Payva, S.J., and helped in carrying the coffin from the Church to what is called the Martyrs' Chapel in the actual Catholic cemetery of Agra. In 1634 he was with his chaplain at Lahore in the King's suite. The end of that year was marked with a new outburst of bigotry on the part of the King; the Fathers of Agra were ejected from their house, the images and pictures in their Church were broken or torn, and the whole of 1635 the Fathers were in imminent danger of being expelled the country. At last, thanks to Āṣaf Khān's never-flagging friendship, they were allowed on December 8th, 1635, to return to their College, but on the iniquitous condition that their Churches of Agra and Lahore be pulled down. This was done. Even the Church of Sind (Tatta) was destroyed. The persecution had now done its worst, and, though the Fathers never grew to favour with *Shāh Jahān*, they were at least tolerated after this.

We next hear of Zū-l-Qarnain in 1636. John Drake wrote to the President and Council of the E. I. Co. at Surat (June 4th, 1636) that he had arrived at “the *lasker* which now is at Kerkey [Kharkī or Kirki, *i.e.*, Aurangābād] six course wide of Dowletabad,” and he had delivered their letter to the Padre, who was living with “Mirza Zulkerne.” The latter had given Drake good advice and proffered his services with Āṣaf Khān.<sup>3</sup>

Father J. de Castro announced to the General of the Society in Rome (Agra,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. TAVERNIER'S *Travels in India*, Ball's edn., I. 112. *Shāh Jahān*'s order may have been given on the occasion of the illness of some Armenian other than the Mirzā. Possibly, the great rôle played by Zū-l-Qarnain during the persecution and the great favour he enjoyed at other times is perhaps at the root of a confusion of names. On the other hand, the incident may belong to an earlier period, but I have not found any trace of it in the Jesuit letters. Tavernier's account of his travels in India consists mostly of his observations during his sixth and last journey to the East (1664-1667).

<sup>2</sup> W. IRVINE, *Storia do Mogor*, I. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. POSTER, *The English Factories in India* (1634-36), Oxford, 1911, p. 262. Reference communicated by Sir Richard Carnac Temple.



Sept. 1st, 1640) that Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain was again in the King's favour. His two eldest sons were pages of honour in the King's service. The Mirzā's Christian name was Gonsalvo; his three sons were called Gioā Baptista (the eldest), Gasparo, and Micaele (the youngest). Clara, his daughter, was 19 years old; she ought to have been married already, but it was difficult to match her with a Christian of her rank.<sup>1</sup>

On January 1st, 1642, de Castro informed the General that the Mirzā had asked the King's permission to join the service of his second son (Sultān Shujā'), then Governor of Bengal [1639-60]. He had left Agra with his three sons, while his daughter Clara, and Magdalen, the nurse and governess of the household, stayed behind.<sup>2</sup>

In 1645, the Mirzā was still in Bengal with his three sons and Father Francis Morando, his Chaplain. The Captain of the Christians at Sāmbhar was the Mirzā's uncle, Janibeg, a "Chaldean." Janibeg's salary was Rs. 50,000 a year; he had to pay to the King an annual revenue of five lākhs of rupees. Father de Castro was Chaplain to the family at Sāmbhar.<sup>3</sup>

We should not be surprised if Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain had been instrumental in obtaining from Sultān Shujā' in 1646 the confirmation of the ancient privileges and exemptions of the inhabitants and Augustinians of Hugli.<sup>4</sup>

Bernier states that Sultān Shujā', while at Rājmaḥal, sent out "of the inferiour *Bengala* for many pieces of Canon, and a good number of *Portugals* that were retired thither, because of the fertility of the Country: For he much courted all those Portugal Fathers Missionaries, that are in that Province, promising them no less than that he would make them all rich, and build Churches for them wheresoever they would. And they were indeed capable to serve him, it being certain, that in the Kingdom of *Bengala* there are to be found no less than eight to nine thousand Families of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, and these either Natives or Mesticks."<sup>5</sup>

Among the remarks which Father Alexander de Rhodes, S.J., makes on Mogor, we find: "Our society has a large college in the town of Agra, which a very honourable (*honnête*) Armenian, named.... [*a blank*], founded about 30 years ago."<sup>6</sup>

In 1648 the Mirzā was back at Agra, for he watched from a balcony, with Father Antonio Botelho, Shāh Jahān's magnificent progress towards Delhi, his new capital.

"These last years," wrote Father John Maracci, S.J., in April 1649, "while a distinguished Christian Lord, called Mirza, was Governor of Bengala, in the King of Mogor's name, Fr. Francis Morando, an Italian of the Province of Goa, being confessor to him and the whole of his family, the propagation of the Faith was marvellous in that Kingdom."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. in the author's possession.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Fr. J. de Castro, Sāmbhar, July 20, 1645 (MS.).

<sup>3</sup> See our paper *A Week at Bandel*, in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Calcutta, Vol. X, Pt. I, pp. 107-111.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. BERNIER, *The History of the late Revolution*...., London, 1671, pp. 193-194.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Voyages et Missions du P. Alex. de Rhodes*, Paris, 1854, p. 397. The remark occurs in the chapter on Surat, where the Father was from September 30, 1647, to February 3, 1648. The first edition of his travels appeared in 1653. There are other editions of 1666 and 1685.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. JEAN MARACCI, S.J., *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales*, Paris.... S. Cramoisy, MDCLII, pp. 65-66.

One of Father Morando's converts in Bengal was a young Englishman, John Damont. " & the Father of the Christians [Fr. James d'Abreu (?), of Murmugaõ, near Goa] made use of this Neophyte for the conversion of several other Heretics of his country, who come to traffic in those parts of Murmugano & of Pardes, & last year [1648] at least fifteen were reconciled to the Church." <sup>1</sup>

In a list of Shāh Jahān's grantees, belonging apparently to the end of the 20th year of his reign (1648), the name of Zū-l-Qarnain, the Armenian, appears as holding the rank of 500 with 300 horse.<sup>2</sup>

In 1648 Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain is reported as Governor in the Kingdom of Lahore. " Fr. Anthony Ceschi from Trent. . . must reside at present in the Kingdom of Laor as confessor and preacher to the Governor of it, who is called Mirsa, which means Alexander the Great, a Christian prince in great favour with the King. His house is composed of more than four hundred persons, the greater number of them Christians." Father Maracci added: " Father Francis Morando, a Bolognese, and a great scholar in the Partian [Persian] and Industanne [Hindustānī] tongue, remained sixteen years at a stretch with the said Lord and his children, accompanying him to all the Kingdoms where he has been Viceroy and Governor." <sup>3</sup>

Father Anthony Ceschi di S. Croce, S.J., wrote to his parents a *Brief Relation on the state of affairs in the Indies in the year 1649*, dated Agra, September 15th, 1649.

" The Mission of Mogor, he says, is at present at peace with the Prince<sup>4</sup> and the Governors of the Kingdom. Only this year are matters of the Christian faith being discussed; but, though they hear them, they do not for that matter open their heart to the call of God. Many of those people are baptized this year, and Mirza Lucarne (*sic*) [Zū-l-Qarnain] has made a generous profession of the faith. When asked by the King—as being the chief of the courtiers—whether he believed that after the Christian Prophet another was still to come, he answered intrepidly no; and yet he thought that his well-weighed answer would cost him his head; but the King dissembled and changed the topic of conversation." <sup>5</sup>

We hear of the Mirzā again in 1651. The Patriarch of Ethiopia, Don Alfonso Mendez, S.J., writing with apostolic freedom to the Cardinals of Propaganda (Goa, December 20th, 1651) once more denounces the Bishop of Chrysopolis, Don Matthew

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39. This relation was written at Rome in April, 1649. Fr. Maracci had come as Procurator of the Goa Province, probably in the beginning of 1648 or 1649.

<sup>2</sup> Note by Mr. H. BEVERIDGE. Cf. *Bādshāhnāma*, Bibl. Ind. edn., I. 748 (top of page).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JEAN MARACCI, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 23. If Fr. Morando had by 1648 remained 16 years with the Mirzā, he would have been with him from 1632. Fr. de Castro, the Mirzā's chaplain, writing from "Mogul" [Gorākhpur ?] on August 28, 1632, says, indeed, that Father Francis Morando is with him, pending his departure for Tibet. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, November, p. 531.

<sup>5</sup> Dāra Shikoh, Shāh Jahān's eldest son.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Estratto e Registro di lettere spirituali / con breve narratione della Vita del / Molto Reverendo Padre / Antonio Ceschi / di Santa Croce / Del Borgo di Valsugana della Compagnia / di Giesu Missionario Apostolico / delle Indie / Descrizione fatta da / Francesco Antonio Paternolo / Notaro di Strigno pure di Valsugana / con la sua declaratione, e protesto / dedicato all' immortal gloria / del Celsiss. e Reverendiss. Monsig. / Francesco / Alberti / Vescovo e Principe / di Trento. / In Trento Per Carlo Zanetti / Con licenza de Superiori / 1683. / p. 181.*—This is a very rare book in 32mo of pp. 240, a copy of which is in the Library of the Convent of the Franciscans of Trent (ad A/42). Father Marco Morizzo da Borgo Valsugana, O.F.M., a compatriot of Fr. Ceschi, copied for me on 25-27th August 1910 the historical portions of it.

de Castro, for his extravagances. We have seen only the summary of that letter. "An *aper exterminator* [ravaging boar] has penetrated into Mogor. I should abstain from speaking about it, knowing that near Your Eminences I am held *per mendace* [as untruthful]. But the truth is one . . . . . Disedifying conduct of the Bishop of Chrysopolis among the Mogorins and Turks. Scandal taken by the Christians, Catholics, English and Dutch alike. His effronteries towards Mirzâm Zulkarnem, a Christian, the friend of the Jesuits, who calls to his help Father Buseo [Busi]. The Fathers of Mogor have recourse to the King against the accusations made in public by the Bishop of Chrysopolis, especially against their being spies of the King of Portugal and having usurped the property of Portuguese deceased in Mogor. But the Bishop of Chrysopolis boasts before all of the instructions he has received from Rome.

"Let Your Eminences weigh the damage done by him to Christianity, and restore peace to the Mission. If the Jesuits of Mogor are at fault, why does he not denounce them to Rome? Why does he instead make a Maomettan Prince judge in this matter? Is this the way to defend the Apostolic See?"<sup>1</sup>

Father Botelho will tell us more anon about the vagaries of Don Matheus de Castro, a Brahman of Divar (Goa), educated partly in Rome and created a Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic first of Ethiopia, then for the Bijāpur and Gulkandah Kingdoms, whose immoderate zeal disturbed West, South and East for many years.<sup>2</sup>

Two other passages in Father Ceschi's printed life and letters may be quoted here. On September 5th, 1651, he wrote from Agra to his parents:—

"A certain Christian was disputing with the Moors, when, inspired by Heaven, he said that the faith he was preaching must be true, if a bird should presently appear and repeat the song he would sing first. They were under tents in a treeless plain, and lo! a little bird came flying presently, which imitated very well the song the Christian sang. . . ."<sup>3</sup> We know from other unpublished Jesuit letters that this Christian was no other than Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain.

In another letter to the Rector of the College of Trent (Delhi, August 24th, 1654) Father Ceschi says:—"The Prince is extremely fond of the Fathers. He called me lately, though against my wish, to his palace and presented me with a dress of honour (*munusculo insigni cuiusdam panni*). Mirza, one of our Christians, is one of the grandees at Court. At the Prince's request, the King condoned to him lately 50 thousand gold mohurs (*aurei*). The Mirza (*Mirzatius*) came to thank his patron.<sup>4</sup> 'This is not my work at all,' he answered. 'You owe it all to the help of Christ and the prayers of your Fathers. Thank them.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CAMILLO BECCARI, S.J., *Notizia e Saggi di opere e Documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia*. . . . Roma, 1903, pp. 169, 114. The letter must have been published by this time in one of the 16 vols. which this collection is to comprise; but I possess only the prospectus volume.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on him the work above; also CAS. CHRIST. DE NAZARETH, *Mitras Lusitanae*, Lisboa, 1897, pp. 162, 612, where a number of references are given; W. IRVINE, *Storia do Mogor* by Manucci, s.v. Matheus de Castro. Manucci refers to his visit to Mogor.

<sup>3</sup> A. CESCHI, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> I understand that the patron was the Prince Dārā Shikoh.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 227.





orders to return to Goa and to go where they might do more good. From Goa they encouraged them to have patience; for patience and long-suffering surmounted all obstacles. King Hacabar fell into another folly. He said to the Fathers that he had heard whatever pertained to our law, and that with the knowledge || he had of the various religious schools among Muḥammadans, he wished to make a religion which would combine ours and his. When the Fathers saw his extravagance, they undeceived from there the Fathers Superiors and said they wished to leave the place. They were told from there to come at once, but not without the King's permission and good pleasure. The Fathers laid the matter before the King, and he told them he had no hold on them: if they wished, they could go back to their country; but they should know that, if they left his Court, he would be much displeased and chagrined. The Fathers continued to have patience still some time, until the King resolved to send an Ambassador to the Sovereign Pontiff with Fr. Antonio de Monserrate. The Ambassador came to Goa, whence he was to go to Rome; but he died at Goa,<sup>1</sup> and Fr. Antonio de Monserrate remained on this side, while Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva, too, returned to Goa after some months. I do not know what was his pretext, but he had the King's leave. A few months after his return, Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva went to the Christianity of Salcete, where he obtained afterwards at Cunculy [Cunculim] the crown of a glorious martyrdom. A few months later, the King heard how the Holy Martyr Rodolfo Aquaviva had been so cruelly killed for the faith; and, speaking to his courtiers, he said that God had thus chastised him for not wishing to remain in his Kingdom and Court.<sup>2</sup> Such is the preposterous judgment of those who are ignorant of our holy faith! They take as a punishment from the hands of God the reward He bestows on His elect. The Superiors of Goa, knowing how King Hacabar had been unwilling to let our Fathers depart from his Court, however just their reasons, thought proper that we should return to that Court and send others again, seeing that we were treated there with so much respect that the King kept us at his expense, and that, even if the conversion of the King himself did not follow, our residing at the Court of the greatest Monarch of the whole of Asia redounded to the greater glory of God, while it made the world wonder.<sup>3</sup> It was thought in the beginning and at the Court of King Idalxâ, up to the time that I was there by order of obedience, that King Hacabar had died a Christian. King Idalxâ himself told me these very words: '*Antonio Botelho, sache he qui barâ Patxâ Hacabar Christão muhâ, qui nã?*'<sup>4</sup> That is: 'Antonio Botelho, is it true or not that the great King Hacabar died a Christian?' I answered: 'Would to God it had been so; but he kept us deluded with such hopes, and died in your sect of Muḥammad.' I do not now

Fol. 41v.

<sup>1</sup> Monserrate (*op. cit.*, p. 637) does not state that 'Abdullah died at Goa, neither does Father Goldie, nor Francisco de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, II. C. I, D. II, §§ 43-48, 53-64, 74 sqq. Fr. DANIEL BARTOLI, S.J., *Missioni al Gran Mogor*, Roma, 1714, p. 73, says he returned to Court. We hear of him still in 1595 and later (MS. letters).

<sup>2</sup> According to Monserrate, Akbar, on hearing of Rudolf's death, put his finger in his mouth and said, deeply moved: "Woe to me! Father, I told you timely enough not to go, but you did not wish to listen to me!" Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 637. See also Bartoli, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> The fact is that Akbar recalled the Fathers in 1590 and 1595.

<sup>4</sup> *Sach lai ki barâ Pādshāh Akbar Khristān muhâ ki nã?*—Some parts of the abridged Latin translation of Fr. Botelho's memoir were quoted by Sir Edward Maclagan in *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 93 n. 2, p. 107. Fr. Botelho must have been at the Court of the Idal Shāh of Bijāpur some time between 1654 and 1670.

remember which Fathers repaired then to the Court of the Mogol in the place of the Holy Martyr Father Rodolfo Aquaviva and Antonio de Monserrate.<sup>1</sup> What I am sure of is that it was still in King Hacabar's lifetime that Fr. Hieronimo Xavier of happy memory went also to that Court.<sup>2</sup> He was an apostolic man, and King Hacabar esteemed him much, and so did always, too, King Janguir, Hacabar's son, who succeeded him to the throne. Fr. Hieronimo Xavier was many years at King Janguir's Court, and he composed a very big book in Persian dedicated to King Hacabar and entitled in the dedication: "Mirror of Princes." He composed other very good works in Persian, which are kept in our College of Agra and in this Secretariat of Goa. The book I speak of is also written in Persian, as are many others composed by the same Father.<sup>3</sup>

Janguir  
means Lord  
of the world.<sup>3</sup>

Fol. 42r.

"While Father Hieronimo Xavier was at King Janguir's Court, great was the prestige enjoyed by him and other Fathers, who joined him, such as Manoel Pinheiro, nicknamed the Mogol,<sup>4</sup> Fr. Joseph de Crasto [*sic*], Francisco Corci, and others nearer to our times, whose names I omit. King Janguir granted Father Hieronimo Xavier the boon of a certain number of Christians, whom he had taken prisoners in certain wars and whom he kept shut up in a prison whence they could not escape.<sup>5</sup> These being instructed again in the faith, together with others, adult heathens, men and women, whom he baptized, the Mission of Mogol derived its origin from them. They multiplied among themselves, and this was the beginning of that Christianity, || and the zealous labours of the other Fathers of that Mission added to their numbers in after years. When I was Superior of it, I baptized twenty-one pagans, and from time to time there are always some *quos Deus elegit et praeordinavit* (whom God chose and predestinated)<sup>6</sup> to be brought within the fold. In my time, the number of those Christians who received Holy Communion and went to Confession rose to seven hundred. I could not say with certainty how the numbers stand at present. The ordinary Annuals will tell us, if they do not forget. The Fathers Missionaries devote them-

<sup>1</sup> They were Fathers Edward Leitão and Christopher da Veiga; the name of the lay-brother, Estevão Ribeiro, I find in a letter by Fr. Anthony Mendez to the General concerning Tibet (1636). The second Jesuit Mission to Akbar covers the year 1590-91.

<sup>2</sup> This was in 1595.

<sup>3</sup> The marginal notes belong to the original. Jahāngir: (*lit.*) world-seizer.

<sup>4</sup> On Jerome Xavier's literary labours, cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 110-113; *ibid.*, *Jerome Xavier's Persian Lives of the Apostles*, 1914, pp. 65-84; H. BEVERIDGE, *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, pp. 78-79, on the *Samrat-al-filāsafa*, one of Jerome Xavier's works, made in collaboration with 'Abdu-s-Sattar (compare *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 93, and see the *Tizuk-i-Jahāngiri*, A. ROGERS, and H. BEVERIDGE's transl., I, 389; II, 82, 82 n. 3). C. Sommervogel, *S.J.*, (*Bibl. de la C. de J.*, VIII, col. 1339, No. 4) mentions *Directorium Regum ad Regni gubernationem*. This must be the *Mirror of Princes* referred to by Botelho, unless he refers to the *Mirror of Holiness*, i.e., the *Mirātul-Quds* otherwise called the *Dāstān-i-Masīh* (Life of Christ), which was dedicated to Akbar, while the *Mirror of Princes*, if it is the same as the *Guide of Kings*, would have been dedicated to Jahāngir in 1609, according to the *Bibl. Marsdeniana*, p. 305. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> His obituary is in the Annual Letter of Goa for 1614. "He died aged 67 years, of which he had spent 46 in the Society, and 20 near the King of Mogor, to whom and to whose subjects he had endeared himself. He knew Persian so perfectly that he astonished the Mogorese." Cf. our translation of the passage in *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1912, p. 57. Probably it was the Fathers who playfully called him the "Mogor," meaning that he had thoroughly acquired the Indian habits and ways.

<sup>6</sup> An allusion to the Portuguese captured at Asirgarh, some of whom enlisted under Akbar as *ahādis*, 'soldiers with 2 horses apiece,' while others were left dependent on the Mission (1600-1604). Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 83, 90.

<sup>7</sup> Adapted from Rom. viii. 30.

selves to this small flock as much as if the Christians were many. Hence it is that they are well instructed in the Catechism,<sup>1</sup> and in the mysteries of our holy faith; and rare is the Christian who misses Mass on days of obligation. Many hear it even on week-dāys; and, besides going to confession annually, they confess and communicate many times, chiefly on the feasts of Christ, Our Lady, the Apostles, and other chief Saints of the year.

“For many years that we were in that Mission, up to the death of our Brother Mirza Zulcarnē, the Fathers were four in number, because one was always accompanying him wherever he was going with the King, while the other three were fixed in our College of Agra. Every Sunday and Feast-day, one of the three, who managed the things of the Church, explained the Doctrine,<sup>2</sup> not only to the children, but to the rest as well, instructing them in the mysteries of our holy faith. The three days of Holy Week are very devoutly kept in the Church there. The Church is situated within our enclosure, and the men enter by the common gate, while the women enter by a private door (*porta jalça*) opening near the sanctuary (*capella mor*).<sup>3</sup> On those days there are two sermons (*estaçoens*): one on Maundy-Thursdays, the other on Good Friday; and it happened, when I was there, that a Father preaching in Portuguese on the Descent from the Cross, all the Christians were so deeply moved in consequence, and there was such a flood (*lit.* monsoon) of tears, that the Moors living near our gate were attracted by their sobbing and came running to the gate to ask what the weeping was for, to which the Porter answered that it was a certain custom of ours, and of the Christians when they were within doors. On all Fridays of Lent, in the evening, an instruction on the Doctrine, adapted to their intelligence, is given to those Christians; this is followed by [considerations on] some mystery of the Passion, and the proceedings conclude with a very devout procession in which a crucifix is carried along within our garden and enclosure (*cerca e crastas*). And I assure you that, when I saw this the first time, my eyes filled with tears, and inwardly I said to God: ‘O Lord, how this small procession (moving along to the singing of the litanies of the Saints) must please Thee more than the pompous Friday processions of Goa, which so many people run to see. (What is most remarkable is that we do all this to the beard and in the Court of the Mogol King.) The glory be to Thee, O Lord, who allowedst this in the very midst of those who profess the law of Muḥammad.’ The greater part of the Christians of this Christianity are very poor. Possessing no lands to cultivate,—for everything belongs to the King,—they get their living by serving some Christian Armenian merchants, Englishmen, and Dutchmen, or by following some trade which they know, as that of embroiderers, surgeons, etc. The costume of the Christians of Mogol is that of the country: the *cabaya*, reaching down to the knees;<sup>4</sup> trousers up to the heels, and a turban. As a mark and token of the Christian law which they

<sup>1</sup> A Persian-Hindustānī catechism was composed by the Fathers in or about 1611.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, the Catechism.

<sup>3</sup> The Fathers must have lived in the actual compound of the Catholic Cathedral of Agra; the Church in Fr. Botelho's time must have been the old Cathedral (now the Native Chapel); as for the house, I fancy it is embodied in the present house of the Capuchin Fathers.

<sup>4</sup> The surcoat or long tunic of muslin. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 105.



profess, all wear their beads around their neck. The Christians of the Christianity of Mogol are the best, and the most solidly grounded in our faith of the whole of this East. This conclusion—absolute as it is—was reached by the late Fr. Thomas de Barros.<sup>1</sup> He was some time in Mogol, and Rector of the College of Agra, and he would say: 'The Christians are so poor, and yet they prefer to live in poverty, and, though they could say to the Fathers: 'Take away your Christian; I am dying of hunger, and want to go to the Cassiz<sup>2</sup> and tell him I wish to belong to the law of Muḥammad, and he will give me *rosinā*<sup>3</sup> at once, *i.e.* my daily sustenance,' yet no; they do not do so. Hence, I say none are so firm in the faith.' To understand this, you must take it as certain that whoever goes to the Cassiz, be he heathen or Christian, and tells him he wishes to embrace the sect of Muḥammad, is sure of a daily ordinary ration, in proportion with his rank. I do not deny that some do at times fall away; but they are very rare, and it was when the Moors convicted them of other crimes and threatened them with some grievous punishment. They apostatised *ad tempus* (for a time); because, *data occasione* (finding an opportunity), they would acknowledge their error, and presently come to the Church to be reconciled and protest their faith in the law of Christ.||

Fol 42v.

"King Janguir gave our Fathers a garden near the City of Agra, used as a *Gorastaō*,<sup>4</sup> or cemetery, where we might bury our dead. He did the same in the City of Laor, where we have a house.<sup>5</sup> In this garden, or *Gorastaō*, which is entirely blest, we have also a small vaulted chapel, where our dead Fathers lie buried very neatly; there are stones above the tombs with the names of the deceased Fathers and the year of their death.<sup>6</sup> And when some Christian dies, all the others assemble to accompany him to the grave. He is carried in a coffin, after our manner; before him goes a procession of small boys vested in their white *opas*,<sup>7</sup> and singing the prayers; in front is carried a copper crucifix surmounting a small staff and covered with a black veil. *Et hoc est mirum* (and this is wonderful) that even some Moors, who were friendly with some Christians, accompanied their corpses to the grave, helping the Christians in carrying the coffin on their shoulders. And Fr. Francisco Morando told

<sup>1</sup> I mentioned him among the Missionaries of Tibet (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, 539); his name must now be added to those of the Jesuits of Mogor. Details about him are still wanting. One Thomas de Barros entered the Society at Goa in 1610. L'Abbé A. Launay (*Hist. de la Miss. du Thibet*, Lille, Desclée, 1903, I. 30) says he went to Tibet in 1640. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, states that he was for a time Superior of Mogor and Tibet, after which he became Rector of Damān, Baçaim and Goa. He died at Rachol, April 13, 1658. Probably, he was Rector of Agra just before Fr. Botelho's arrival in 1648. Fr. J. de Castro was Rector in 1641; after that date up to 1648 the catalogues are missing, and he is not in the catalogues of 1649, '53, '55, '56, etc. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 532-533).

<sup>2</sup> From *qasiz*: priest, rather than from *qāzī*: judge.

<sup>3</sup> *Rozina*: daily pay.

<sup>4</sup> *Qabaristān*: cemetery. The Portuguese of Calcutta at the beginning of the 19th century pronounced the word in the same corrupt way. They do so still. I cannot imagine that *gorastaō* stands for *gorā* (white, a European) and *sthān* or *stān* (a place).

<sup>5</sup> The place of the Jesuit house and cemetery at Lahore has not yet been determined. Sir Edward Maclagan and Fr. Felix, O.C., of Antwerp, told me that they had made a diligent search. No old European inscriptions appear to have been found; but has sufficient attention been paid to Armenian ones?

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Appendix A, for the origin of the cemetery and the Mortuary Chapel of the Jesuit Fathers at Agra.

<sup>7</sup> *Ōpa*: a sort of garment without sleeves that comes down to the ankles. Cf. A. Vieyra Transtagano's *Dict. of the Port. and Engl. Lang.*, London, 1773. J. I. Roquette's *Nouveau Dict. Port. Franc.*, Paris 1863. translates by: robe, lo g garment, confraternity form. The meaning here must be "surplices."

me that he was in the College of Agra when Father Matheus de Paiva died there,<sup>1</sup> and that the concourse of the Moors who accompanied him to the grave and carried the coffin on their shoulders was such that it was wonderful; and by this service which they rendered to Fr. Matheus de Paiva, the Moors wished to testify to the Father's great charity, when alive; for, having some knowledge of medicine, he would help them with remedies in their illnesses. On All Souls' Day, the Fathers of that Mission are in the habit of going with all the Christians to that garden or cemetery, and to say Mass in that small chapel. At the end, there is a sermon on the souls in Purgatory, and the Christians lay on the graves in that garden fine napkins whereon they deposit offerings of eatables, which the Fathers at once distribute among countless *Jogues* and *jaquirs* who flock thither.<sup>2</sup> Besides them, many Moors assemble there to witness the solemnity, to see the Father going along in his cope (*capa d'asperges*),<sup>3</sup> sprinkling holy water and reciting the responses over the graves. I did it several years while I was at Agra, and, when performing this ceremony, I felt the greatest pleasure and spiritual consolation, considering that we enjoyed this liberty in spite of Muḥammad and under the Great Mogol's beard. The Armenian merchants (who were fifty or sixty in my time) were much surprised at the freedom we had at the Great Mogol's Court. It was a privilege not enjoyed by the other Religious settled in Constantinople, where the Turks molested them in a thousand ways, going at times as far as beating them severely.

"The College we have in Agra is built in the City itself, not much in the centre of it, but towards the western third of it (*naõ muito no meyo della, senaõ pera a terceira parte que cae pera o Occidente*).<sup>4</sup> Fr. Antonio d'Andrade, of happy memory, built this College in the form of a Z.<sup>5</sup> It has eight rooms and two storeys (*andares*). And as it was small, we had not lodgings enough to receive guests and some distinguished Moors who came to speak with us, or Dutchmen and Englishmen, who have their factories in the Town and are very kind to us.<sup>6</sup> I, being Visitor of that Mission, added to it two small rooms and a hall for guests, and the Dutch and English themselves gave me for the purpose six or seven hundred rupees in alms.<sup>7</sup> In olden times, we

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 2 (All Souls' Day), 1633.—See *supra*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Jogis* are Hindū ascetics; *Fakir* (*lit. poor*) is a Muḥammadan mendicant, the word being frequently used by the old European writers as synonymous with *jogī*.

<sup>3</sup> The cope used for the *Asperges*, or sprinkling with holy water before the parochial Mass on Sundays, is violet; the cope used for the blessing of graves is black.

<sup>4</sup> More freely: "the College . . . is towards the western third of the town rather than in the centre of it." Fr. Botelho conceives the town as divided into three parts: east, west, and centre.

<sup>5</sup> The Portuguese has: *ao modo dez [sic]*.—While Superior of Mogor in 1624, Fr. Antonio d'Andrade went to Tibet, and from that moment to about 1630, when he became Provincial of Goa, his chief care was the Tibetan Mission. He did not return to Mogor after 1630, and died at Goa on March 14, 1634. Hence, I fancy that he built the College near or on the site of earlier buildings between 1621 and 1624, as in 1621 he appears as Visitor and Superior of the whole Mission of Mogor (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 530).

<sup>6</sup> The generally excellent relations between the Jesuits and the Dutch and English factors are borne out by W. N. SAINSBURY'S *Calendar of State Papers*, 1513-1634, 5 vols.; F. C. DANVERS' and W. FOSTER'S *Letters received by the E. I. Co.* (1602-17), 6 vols., and W. FOSTER'S *The English Factories in India*, 1618-45.

<sup>7</sup> How shall we conceive the building before Fr. Botelho's additions? As consisting of three rooms below and three above, plus two rooms below, one each at opposite ends of and at right angles to the building, thus giving us in all eight rooms and the figure 7? In summer the Fathers slept on the terrace. Fr. Botelho's additions, if they were exclusively

had a very fine church within the walls and precincts; it was entirely vaulted and had cost eleven or twelve thousand rupees the greater part of which sum had been donated by an Armenian, a rich Christian merchant;<sup>1</sup> but, King Xajan [Shāh Jahān] ordered to destroy the Church on the occasion which I shall relate. King Xajan was very much disturbed by the insults he had received from the Portuguese of Bengala and the natives of the country at Ogoly [Hugli], a sea-board district of those parts. He sent against it a powerful army, destroyed its buildings and the ships in the harbour; but, all those who escaped death, whether Portuguese or natives, women and children, were caught by the Moors,<sup>2</sup> and Fr. Morando, who was in our College of Agra on that occasion, told me that they numbered upwards of four thousand souls. All entered that City as prisoners to be presented to the King, and the greater number of them, of the men at least, came || two by two, with iron rings round their necks and chains.<sup>3</sup> The King took as his slaves many of the chief men, and the white women he ordered to be taken to his Mal,<sup>4</sup> or women's quarter; the rest of the men he distributed among various Umbras,<sup>5</sup> and the greater number of these people fell away, and he ordered to circumcise them, to which some consented for fear of the various kinds of death they threatened them with, others out of love for their wives, who were scattered about in the Mal of the King and of the Umbras. Even so, there were many who did not renounce their faith, because they were not pressed so much. And there were so many of those of Bengala who, on Sundays and Feast-days, assembled near the College gate to enter the Church and hear Mass, and they made such a noise and quarrelled so much among themselves before entering, that, as Fr. Morando told me, even at the door of the *Misericordia* or in the *Rua Direita* (Straight Road) of Goa, they did not quarrel or shout as much as there. Seeing this, the Cassiz and the Mulnas [*sic*],<sup>6</sup> the masters of the law of Muḥammad, went to King Xajan, asking

Fol. 43r.

or guests, might have been a separate building. If the present house of the Archbishop of Agra embodies the old Jesuit house, it is difficult to recognize any of the old features. One of the wonders of the place is the cellar. Inside of it, overhead, there are indications of two old staircases with big sandstone slabs for steps: it has three staircases, therefore, of which only one now reaches the outer world. I was told by the Fathers of Agra, that the house originally had two stories; that the lower story was filled in (except in some places, the cellar?), and that a third story, now the second, was eventually built. The level of the garden is lower than that of the house, but is it low enough to account for what I was told? I heard also a remark which I found rather irrelevant to our case: that Begam Sumru's house at Sardhana has an underground floor, where she lived in summer, air-holes being provided in different places. The Agra cellar remained a mystery to me. Perhaps, the Capuchin Fathers of Agra will be able to read a meaning into Fr. Botelho's description.

<sup>1</sup> Khwajā Martinus. This gift of money for the church is not alluded to in Fr. João de Velasco's letter. (Cf. Appendix A). At any rate, Fr. Botelho does not say that John Philip de Bourbon and Lady Juliana built the Agra Church of 1604. Tradition says, moreover, that John Philip de Bourbon and Lady Juliana were both buried in the Agra Church. Cf. Fr. Felix, O.C., p. 204 n. 26, in *Catholic Calendar for Agra*... 1907. The tradition must be utterly wrong, for Lady Juliana died before 1598, *i.e.*, before any church is heard of at Agra. Lady Juliana da Costa, her namesake, was buried in the present Agra Church, having died in 1732. (Cf. GENTIL, *Memoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris 1822, pp. 367-380). This appears to be the cause of the confusion. There is no inscription over Lady Juliana da Costa's grave.

<sup>2</sup> Some 3,000 escaped to Saugor Island, at the mouth of the Hugl, but many of these may have been caught, like the rest, subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> In the beginning of July 1633.

<sup>4</sup> Not an unusual form of the word *maḥal*: mansion, seraglio. *Maḥal-sarā*: the inner or female apartments of a mansion.

<sup>5</sup> For *umarā*, the Arabic plural of *amīr*. In old European accounts it is used as a singular for a lord or grandee of the Moghul Court. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *omrah*.

<sup>6</sup> *Qashīsh* or *qasis*, a Muḥammadan priest; *maulā* (Arab.), *mullā* (Hind.), a learned man, a teacher, a doctor of the





"To finish this relation, I wish to speak awhile of our Brother Mirzâ Zulcaranê, the founder of the College of Agra, and the column of that Christianity; and, if Fr. Morando had lived after the Mirzâ's death,<sup>1</sup> he might have written a relation of many pages on the life and exemplary conduct of this good Christian. I shall mention and relate here only some things, which, while I was in the College of Agra, I heard sometimes related by Fr. Francisco Morando, who during 22 years, when Mirza Zulcaranê was in the King's *lascar*,<sup>2</sup> followed him to Bengala, Cabul, Laor and Multan, and twice he was many years with him at Sambar.

"Our Brother Mirza Zulcaranê was not, as some thought, of Armenian parentage, but the son of a very honourable and powerful Christian merchant, of Alipy nationality and born at Alepo [*sic*], who came with his merchandise to Mogol, to the Court of the Mogol King Hacabar, during the last years of his Reign and Empire. This merchant, during King Janguir's reign, found the climate of the country to his taste, and settled in that Court, and King Janguir married him with one of the Ladies of his Palace, who, it was said, had some Armenian blood in her. She became a Christian with her husband, and bore him two or three sons, who were also baptized by Fr. Hieronimo Xavier, as appears from my calculations.<sup>3</sup> As this woman could freely enter into the Palace of the King's wives, since she had lived there many years, she took with her Mirza Zulcaranê, her first child, a love of a baby, they say, whose baptismal name was Belchior.<sup>4</sup> The King obtained from the mother that she should leave him in his Palace to be brought up with the young Prince Corraô [*Khurram*], later Xajan [*Shâh Jahân*], both being of the same age. However, young Mirza would often speak with his father and mother, who instructed him in the faith, and King Janguir was as fond of this little Mirza as of his own son Corraô, and many times, when he went out, he took him with him in his palanquin. Years rolled by and young Mirza continued to be the object of the King's favours. When Mirza was now 14 years old, the King, in his love for him, wished to make him a Moor and get him circumcised; but the youth would not agree, saying that he had to keep the law of his father and mother, and that he was a Christian like them. Before the youth's resolution the King's caresses changed to grievous threats. These proving unavailing, there followed cruel strappings and lashes with thongs of camel-hide. The boy was in such a pitiful plight after this scourging that he was brought to death's

Fol. 44r.

<sup>1</sup> Father Morando appears then to have predeceased the Mirza, but we do not know the year of the death of either. Morando's tomb is not at Agra. If we suppose that he came to Mogor in 1631, it would follow that, as he was 22 years the Mirza's chaplain, he left Mogor in 1653, a year before Fr. Botelho. How many years did he live after that? The Mirzâ is still heard of in 1652.

<sup>2</sup> *Lashkar*: army.

<sup>3</sup> An allusion to his serving under Sultân Shujâ' in Bengal. Probably, he followed *Shâh Jahân* to Afghanistan in 1648. I do not remember any other reference to his having been in Multan. If Fr. Morando was twice with Zü-l-Qarnain at Sambar, he must have been there between 1633 and 1642, since the Mirza was in Bengal from 1642 to 1648, and Morando was with him (the second time?) at Sambar in 1649-51. Cf. *infra*, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Melchior: was this an additional baptismal name to that of Gonçalo? Cf. *supra*, pp. 143, 146.

<sup>5</sup> Fr. Botelho is incorrect in many of these details, e.g., when he fancies that Sikandar (senior) came to Mogor at the end of Akbar's reign, that Lady Juliana was alive in Jahangir's reign, that she and her husband were not Christians (does he mean Catholics?) at the time of their marriage, that Fr. Jerome Xavier baptized them. Like Bernier, he differs from the *Tūzūk-i-Jahangirī* and the earlier Jesuit accounts in stating that, not Akbar but Jahangir influenced Sikandar's marriage with Lady Juliana.

door.\* When he came to and recovered, he disappeared from King Janguir's Palace when they were least on their guard; but, as the King was so fond of him, he ordered to search for him with every diligence. His parents were dead by this time. At last they found him and brought him back to the King's Palace. The King, taking compassion on him, told him to live happy in his law, since he was so much pleased and satisfied with it.<sup>1</sup> And Fr. Francisco Morando told me, when relating this, that Mirza was not only a good Christian, but that he had been also a Martyr for Christ. Mirza had aptitudes and talents of a high order. He became such a great poet in the Industane tongue that he had among the Moors the same reputation as a poet as Camoëns [Camoens] has here with us. He was also a good singer, and he himself put to music the songs which the King made [*sic*].<sup>2</sup> So, King Janguir was so delighted with him that he kept him always at Court and gave him a very large monthly salary, which allowed him to have his suite and cavalry accompanying him. He grew older, and was upwards of thirty years old, when the King appointed him *Divaõ* [Divān], or Viceroy of the *Praganā* [Pargana] of Sambar, of which I have spoken at length in my Relation on the Mogol's greatness.<sup>3</sup> At Sambar, Mirza had a thousand horse and fifteen elephants of his own, and many Christians of Mogol were making large profits under Mirza, because he assisted them in their poverty, favoured them and helped them in everything he could. And he was so liberal that when one of the King's singers caught the conceits or the tune of the songs he composed, he would there and then present him with a horse. It happened once that he was so pleased with a singer that he gave him an elephant, and, Fr. Morando expressing his surprise at such a grand present, Mirza said: 'Father, reflect that for me to give a horse is like giving a goat, and giving an elephant, like giving a horse.'

"In King Janguir's reign our Brother Mirza Zulcaranē lived many years at Sambar. (Mirza means Lord, and Zulcaranē means some arms or badges of Alexander the Great; therefore to say Mirza Zulcaranē is as if you said: Lord of Alexander's badges).<sup>4</sup> This lasted until his son Xajan succeeded him. One of the first acts of the new King was to deprive Mirza Zulcaranē of that *Praganā* and confiscate all he had.<sup>5</sup> The reason for it was that when Xajan, formerly Corraõ, had revolted against his father Janguir, and was passing by Sambar, he told Mirza that he was in need of money, and that he should give him at once a certain number of *leques* [lākhs] of

<sup>1</sup> From the \* there are several anachronisms. The boy was taken away in 1605 and brought back to Lahore in 1606. Only his mother was dead then.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of "que fazia ElRey," we expect "que fazia por ElRey" = which he made for the King.

<sup>3</sup> He was not upwards of 30 years old when he was appointed to the Pargana of Sāmbhar, whether the fact occurred in 1614 or in 1619, or, as we have it in the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī* (transl. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge), II. 194. in the beginning of 1621. Cf. *supra*, pp. 124, 131, 133-134.

<sup>4</sup> Zū-l-Qarnain means two-horned, *bicornutus*. The horns of the bull, not only among the Hebrews and other Semitic races, but in some of the classical Latin authors, are symbolical of strength, power, courage. Col. Jarrett (*Āin*, III, 377n. 1) says that, according to Tabari, Alexander received this name, because he traversed the world from end to end, the word *garn* signifying a horn, a term also applied to the extremities of the universe. The epithet is given to Alexander in the Qoran (Sur. xviii, vv. 82, 84, 92). According to Sale, other opinions of the derivation are that he had two horns to his diadem, or two curls of hair. (On these curls of hair, called *cornua*, see Faccioliati—Forcellini's *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, s.v. *cornu*). Scaliger supposes the epithet arose from Alexander's being represented in his coins and statues with horns as the son of Jupiter Ammon, or as being compared by the prophet Daniel (viii. 6) to a he-goat, though there represented with only one horn.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps, a confusion with his recall from Gorāklpur is: 632.

rupees with which to cover his expenses. Mirza refused, on the plea that he had no leave from his father Janguir, to whom he had to give an account of all the money and revenues of the lands under him. Xajan took occasion of this to recall him from that place.<sup>1</sup> Mirza came away to Agra, where he possessed a very fine house along the River.<sup>2</sup> Mirzâ's enemies represented to the King that, though he had given a good account of himself and paid whatever belonged to the King's crown, he had brought with him his profits amounting to many *leques* of rupees. The King's officers went to his house and dug in many parts of it and of his garden, to find out whether he had hidden any money. Mirza left his house (*se sahio de sua corte*), and came to our College of Agra, whither the King's officers followed to dig with the same diligence our garden and cloisters (? enclosure, *crastas*). Finding nothing, they went away. Mirza was many years in disfavour with the King. Nevertheless, he accompanied him wherever he went, to the hunt or any other enterprise; and, as King Xajan had been as a child brought up in the Palace with Mirza, his suspicions vanished, and, in the year 1649, when I was at Agra, the King reinstated Mirza in the government of Sambar, on condition that he [Mirza] should pay him every year six *leques* of rupees from the salt-revenues. Mirza went back, taking with him, as always, Fr. Francisco Morando. He remained there two years, at the end of which Mirza told King Xajan that, as he was now old<sup>3</sup> and had no longer the strength to conduct the management of those revenues, he must, if he wished to enhance them, appoint in his place some one more able than himself. The King did as requested. He called Mirza to his Court, assigned a hundred rupees a day as his salary, and dispensed him, as a privilege, from going with him when he travelled. As to Mirza's two sons, the King gave one seven rupees a day, and to the younger five.<sup>4</sup> Even in the poverty to which he now found himself reduced, and though the pay he now received from the King was so small compared with what it used to be, he kept fifty horsemen in his service to accompany him when he went outside. And as he was so devoted to poetry, he composed at every step verses in the King's honour; and, first calling the King's singers to his house, he taught them and sent them to the Palace to sing that night what he had composed. On one occasion, as the King had come from Laor, Prince Darâ Xecut<sup>5</sup> called Mirza, with whom he was very friendly, and told him: '*Mere bhay, mere bhay*, i.e., my brother, my brother, my father has just come from Laor; make a *Torpet*,<sup>6</sup> i.e., a

<sup>1</sup> During the first five years of Shah Jahān's reign Zul-Qarnain was in favour. Shah Jahān may have raked up in 1632 the grievance here mentioned by Fr. Botelho.

<sup>2</sup> If the M rza's house was close to the river, how could it have been near the house of the Jesuit Fathers, as Tavernier says? Would not this show that Tavernier (*supra*, pp. 144-145) is mixing up Zu-l-Qarnain's story with that of another Armenian? The distance to the river is not, however, very great, and Zu-l-Qarnain's garden may have come close to the Fathers' property.

\* He was only sixty. The above passage gives an answer to a remark my friend Mr. H. Beveridge made in one of his letters. He could not, he said, find in the Muhammadan authors any allusion to the Mirza's having been re-employed.

\* Was his youngest son, Mirza Daniel, born in or before 1625 (Cf. 1904, p. 164 n. 6), too young in Fr. Boteho's time (1648-54) to take service under the King? It is said further that Zâd-Qarnain saw his (three?) sons and daughter honourably married in his lifetime, and that the youngest, Daniel, survived his father. Cf. pp. 164-165.

<sup>1</sup> Prince Dara Shikoh, Shah Jahan's eldest son. Possibly, Fr. Botelho refers to a song composed by the Mirzi, at Dara Shikoh's suggestions in 1651, when Shah Jahan returned from Kashmir to Lahore. Cf. *infra*, p. 151, n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Dhruapada*: a kind of song in the Hindi or Braj-Bhishal dialect (*R. C. S.*). "The *Dhruapada* (*Dhruvapada*) consists of four rhythmical lines without any definite length of words or syllables." *Ibid.*, Jarrett's transl. III, p. 22; and 221 n. 2.



composition in his honour.'—'I am not now in the mood for it,' Mirza answered; 'but, if your father were to become a Christian, I should make a very fine hymn in his honour.' The Prince laughed heartily at the supposition. Eventually, however, Mirza made the song. King Xajan ventured to tell Mirza Zulcaranê through a third party that, if he wished to follow the sect of Muḥammad, he would let him have Sambar for life. Now it yielded eight *leques* of rupees a year.<sup>1</sup> To this Mirza answered, 'Go and tell the King that my religion is not so cheap in my eyes that I should barter it against any number of *leques* of rupees.' A good example for those who write with their own blood that they sacrifice their life to the devil in return for a treasure, and in the end they find themselves in a bonfire.

"Fr. Francisco Morando would speak at length about Mirza's Christianity. He knew him very intimately, having been 22 years his companion. Every day Mirza recited Our Lady's rosary, heard Mass, and, what is more, when he was travelling about with the King, Fr. Morando had to say Mass daily in his tent. And it happened often that the King's *lascar* was already moving when the Mass began; still, they would not touch Mirza's tent before Mass was finished. His intelligence was very sharp and keen. Sometimes he spoke to Fr. Morando about predestination in a way which astonished him. Once, for instance, a poor *basar* [bāzār] woman passing near him, he said: 'Father, how have I deserved that God should make me a Christian in preference to that poor woman who passes there, and who, if she dies without baptism, will surely go to hell?' Fr. Morando said sometimes that Mirza had never known any other woman than his own wife; as a young man and a widower, he was without reproach, a rare thing for one who lived all his life at the Court of so mighty a King and a Moor too, where liberty is so great and the occasions of offending God are so many. It is the custom, as I said above, that all the Umbraos and noblemen (*fidalgos*) should go twice a day to pay their respects to the King. Mirza did it often too, not that he was obliged—since the King had dispensed him—but when he liked. One day as some of the Umbraos were in the King's presence, one of them saw Mirza entering the court of the Palace Gate. 'Sire,' he said to the King, 'Mirza Zulcarane is coming along there; but he looks as if he had drunk wine to-day.'—'Then,' said the King, 'tell the head porter (these are always persons of high rank) that he must not let him in, and let him tell him to come another day, for we have no time to-day.' The porter obeyed, and Mirza returned home. But, a few days later, when Mirza was in the King's presence with other nobles, the one who had accused him to the King for being drunk, happened to enter at the Palace Gate, and a noble, a friend of Mirza's, having related the story, told him: 'Here comes the fellow who, some days ago, said to the King that you were drunk. From his ways it seems that he has indulged in wine himself. So, tell the King, too, that such a one looks tipsy.'—'You people are blind,' answered Mirza. 'You do not know the law of the Christians. My law teaches me that, if one strike you on the one cheek, you must offer him also the other.<sup>2</sup> You must not be vindictive, but must do good to those who do you evil.' Mirza was well

<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it left Zū-l-Qarnain in 1649-51 a profit of 2 lakhs, and a larger margin of profit during his earlier tenures of administration. Cf. *supra*, pp. 146, 161.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is either to St. Matth. v. 39 or to St. Luke vi. 29.

read in our Gospels, the Psalms and Holy Scripture, || which he had in Persian<sup>1</sup>; and, when occasions offered themselves, he would often, and to good purpose, make use of those weapons.

"A certain ecclesiastic placed in authority went to the City of Agra, while I was in that Mission, to see whether he could expel us from it.<sup>2</sup> He made every effort for this purpose, went to the other chief towns, as Laor and Dely, where the King then already was with his Court, and interested some Umbras to get them to influence the King and convert him to his evil intentions through defamatory papers and letters against us. It was, perhaps, one of the most violent storms that burst over us from the time that we settled in that Great Kingdom. What happened, and what he did against us, God knows, and we who bore it. It is a very long story, and, if I tried to put it in order in writing, I should fill more than four sheets of paper. Suffice it to say that finally, by means of a quite baseless calumny, he succeeded through some one else in getting the King to imprison for more than a month and a half, say about two months, Fr. Henrique Buzen [Buseo, Busi] (God rest his soul!); but God, who defends the cause of truth, allowed that everything should become clear, and the Father came out of prison with great credit to himself and honour to the Society, the King considering as a base slander the charges brought against the Father. After this ecclesiastic had done what he could, he happened to speak at Agra with one born at Cochy [Cochin] and married at Ogoly [Hugli], who, as I said, came with the other captives. He was a half-caste, but of good extraction (? character, *de boni naturalis*); and, though the King's prisoner, his pay was big enough to let him live in comfort. I do not name him, because he is well known and my story does not require my naming him. This ecclesiastic went often to the renegade's house, and once he told him: 'Senhor so-and-so, do you think that with four fellows of my pluck I could get rid of those Paulists?' The apostate replied very sensibly, 'But, since you see that the Fathers are four, why do you try what you cannot succeed in?' — 'I should worst them,' said the ecclesiastic, 'but for the help they get from Mirza Zulcaranē.' Another person from Bengala, who had been circumcised, and was intimate with Mirza, told him the above story. 'Tell this ecclesiastic,' was Mirza's answer, 'that, if we had not the help of the cross, the devil would get the better of the whole world.' What is worse in this story is that, when this clergyman came to Dely, Mirza gave him an alms of a hundred rupees.

"King Xajan was in the Kingdom of Cassimir [Kashmīr], where, owing to the said

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. B., 1896, pp. 93, 113, shows what parts of the Old and New Testaments Zū-l-Qarnain may have possessed in Persian. In 1912 I found in the Catholic Cathedral Library of Agra a copy of Fr. J. Xavier's Persian translation of the four Gospels.

<sup>2</sup> The Provincial of Goa wrote to the General in the Annual Letter of 1652 (October 27th): "This Mission of Mogor suffered this year a severe persecution, which was brought down upon it by Bishop Dom Matheus. This appears from three writings of his, or rather three libels which he spread to discredit us, and even expel us from that Mission. He accused us of having usurped much money, which by the laws of the Kingdom belonged to the King; secondly, that we had prevented some Dutch gunners, whom the King had caused to be called, from entering his service; through these false incriminations, he actually got Fr. Henrique Buzen arrested." On Dom Matheus de Castro, Cf. MANUCCI's *Storia di Mogor*, s.v. Matheus; also C. BECCARI, S. J., *Notizia e Saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la Storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII*. . . Roma, 1903, pp. 114-115 n. 4; 169; 401.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. on him, App. C.

clergyman's false and slanderous information, he ordered to seize Father Buzeu, then with Mirza.<sup>1</sup> The King started from Cassimir for Laor, and the roads were so bad that he left the greater part of the army in Cassimir with orders to follow the next day. Father Buzeu was yet in prison, and Mirza Zulcaranē, who could not stomach it, left in all haste to overtake and interview the King, which he did two leagues from Cassamir [Srinagar]. Mirza was going in a palanquin, accompanied by his people; he traversed the King's *lascar*, and, as his breaking through the King's army was attended with loud protests, the King remarked it and asked what the matter was. From mouth to mouth the news reached him that Mirza Zulcaranē came to speak with His Highness. Immediately the King told them to stop his state-conveyance or *Tactarabandi*,<sup>2</sup> as it is called,—a very large litter (*andor*) carried by 16 to 20 men, on the top of which is a silver *cherola*.<sup>3</sup> To the Umbraos near him, among others Alimardan ['Ali Mardan *Khān*] (about whom I said much à propos of the Mogol King's greatness), he said, '*Sastao*,' i.e., stop,<sup>4</sup> and let it be said that King Xajan orders to stop his train in order to speak with Mirza Zulcaranē.' The latter coming in the King's presence, said loudly and angrily, for he was naturally irritable, 'Sire, how can you, on so glaring a lie, leave my Padre in prison? Say that he must be free, and here I give you my head to cut off any time that they prove what they accuse the Father of.' Mirza was so much in earnest that the King told him, 'Go back to Cassamir, and tell Sadulacan [Sa'dullah *Khān*], the King's chief Umbrao, *et secundus a Rege* [and next in power to the King], to bring the Father with him to Laor, when he comes.' The moment Mirza had turned to go away, the King said to the Umbraos || near him, 'Did you not notice how angry and vexed Mirza was when speaking to me? Don't be surprised; I know the man, and I must bear with him, while life lasts, since we were brought up together as boys in the Palace.'<sup>5</sup>

"Mirza Zulcaranē was married with Dona Ilena [Helena], whose grave—a very fine one—I saw at Laor in a garden which Mirza owned there.<sup>6</sup> She bore him three sons and a daughter. The eldest was called Mirza Observam; the 2nd, Mirza Eres; the 3rd and youngest, Mirza Daniel.<sup>7</sup> Mirza saw his sons and daughter very honour-

<sup>1</sup> Events of 1651.

<sup>2</sup> *Takht-i-rawān*: a kind of sedan chair.

<sup>3</sup> A *charola* (Port.) is a niche, e.g., the niche in which are placed the statues carried on biers in processions. "La chiroille se place sur le dos de l'éléphant; il y en a de couvertes et d'autres qui ne le sont pas." M. GENTIL, *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1822, p. 372 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Probably *āhista* (vulg. = *āste*): slowly.

<sup>5</sup> Fr. Busi says in a letter to the General (Lahore, 17th December 1651) that he had left prison some days before and that, as the Rector [Fr. Anthony Botelho] had written on the subject, he did not enlarge on it. A letter of Fr. Botelho's (Agra, 20th January 1652) to Fr. Bento Ferreira, Goa, states that he had left Agra for Lahore on November 8th, 1651, to obtain Fr. Busi's liberty. Much prudence was required. Bishop Dom Matheus was still in Lahore, ready to leave for Agra, Surat, Mocha. Fr. Botelho had to conceal himself in the suburbs of Lahore until Bishop Matheus was gone. Prince Dārā Shikoh suggested to Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain, then at Lahore, to compose a piece of poetry to soothe Shāh Jahān. The result was obtained. Fr. Busi was restored to liberty on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, 1651 (i.e., December 3rd).

<sup>6</sup> Her death is announced in a letter by Fr. Francis Morando, S.J. (Agra, September 15th, 1638) as having taken place some days before. May not Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain's mother, Lady Juliana, have been buried there too? She had died at Lahore in 1598.

<sup>7</sup> Mirzā Observam would be John Baptist, Mirzā Eres (Irij, Irich) would be Gaspar, and Mirzā Daniel (Danyāl)

ably married during his lifetime. One day, speaking to one of his great friends, a certain Umbrāo, who had easy access to the King, Mirza Zulcaranĕ asked him, 'Will you not get the King to appoint my sons *Mancebdāres* [manṣabdārs], i.e., captains of three hundred or four hundred horse, a dignity leading to that of Umbrāos?' The Umbrāo answered, 'I shall ask the King to appoint your sons not only Mancebdāres, but even Umbrāos, provided they are willing to embrace the law of Muḥammad.'—'Then, don't,' said he, 'and get away! Our law is so precious that not all the riches of the whole world can be compared with it!' The Umbrāo stood confounded. Mirza's two eldest married sons died during his lifetime; the last survived him; but (either deception or lack of judgment, for he seemed at times eccentric and ill-balanced) he let himself be circumcised to follow the sect of Muḥammad. It did not last long, however. Recognising the error, which he, the son of such a great Christian, had fallen into, he felt intensely grieved, and, making a very big cross, he took it upon his shoulders, and, with a rope around his neck, dragged it about the streets of the City of Dely, confessing his sin aloud, and begging God's mercy. He was reconciled to the Church, and died shortly after in the faith, and I doubt not that God granted him this grace through his father's praying in heaven that his house and family might be spared such a slur.

"I have not said all I could about the Mission of Mogol. I leave the rest to the usual Annuals, which relate things of great glory to God and credit to that Christianity. Comparing it with many others of the Society throughout this East, we can say of it: *Pusillus* [sic] *grex* [little flock], as far as numbers go, but we can give it the first place for fidelity to the practices of our holy law. May Our Lord in His infinite mercy open the eyes of that so vast heathenism and Moordom, and bring them into the way of the true salvation."

The Latin abridgment of Fr. Botelho's *Relação da Christandade que temos no Reino do Gram Mogol* is evidently the work of a scholar in Europe, who, striking the panegyric note, indulges in some oratorical embellishments of his own. It was natural that he should seize upon the similarity of name between the Mirzā and Alexander; but, "a Numa in peace, an Alexander in war, and a Caesar in both" are flourishes which the sober historian would have avoided. In the light of the documents we have handled Zū-l-Qarnāin appears to us as a good administrator, and a great Christian hero, not as a great soldier.

For the sake of completeness, let the latinist speak.

"But, as all the success we have had in Mogor, the flourishing condition of the Christian religion, all the revenues possessed by the Agra College, are (after God) due

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would be Michael. The Mirzā's son, who is mentioned in the Annual Letter of 1619 (cf. *supra*) as having died, could not have been Mirzā Observam, as Sir R. C. Temple suggests (*Travels of Peter Mundy*, II. 376); he would be rather the boy who is spoken of in 1619 as born after the death of the Mirzā's then only child. I do not know what Christian name Observam represents. It may have something to do with the visit to Sāmbhar in 1624 of the Franciscans or Observantines. Clara, too, the name of Zū-l-Qarnāin's daughter, recalls a Franciscan Saint. Irij is a Muḥammadan name (see e.g., BLOCHMANN, *Ain*, I. 339, 491, 511).

<sup>1</sup> *Manṣabdārs* were of many ranks. "From the remarks and quotations of Blochmann it would seem that *Manṣabdārs*, from the commandant of 1,000 upwards, were styled *umarā-i-kibār*, or *umarā-i-'izām*, "Great Amirs"; and these would be the omrahs properly." *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. omrah

entirely and solely to Mirsa Zulcarnem, whom the Society adopted as one of its brethren, it behoves us to dwell awhile in just praise of him. This man, I mean Mirza Zulcarnem, was as noble in birth as illustrious by his deeds and renowned for his Christian piety. An Amir (*Umbraus*) in dignity, he was a Numa in peace, an Alexander in war, a Cæsar in both, brave in warfare, meek in peace, upright in his conduct, a model of valour, a pattern of gentleness, a champion of religion; the Mogors honoured him for his greatness, the world for his renown, and religion for his virtue. The Mogor Kings owe him a thousand victories, a thousand nobles thank him for his benefits, while the Society of Jesus owes him great affection. For the Mogul he was a strenuous leader, for the faith a powerful champion, for the Society a faithful friend and brother. Through him warlike courage flourished, the Christian religion increased, and the Society had cause to rejoice. This is the man who, although sprinkled with holy water in his cradle, became the delight of King Janguir for his foreign beauty, so that the King himself, a thing that is rare among the Mogors, had the boy at his own table. He, at the age of twelve, saw the King's affection turned into wrath and endured many and severe stripes because he obstinately refused to abjure the Roman faith, so much so that Father Francisco Morando called him a glorious martyr of Christ. As a young man he possessed a very subtle wit and wrote verses in his mother-tongue with such elegance that the King was greatly delighted thereby. In rewarding singers he was so liberal that he frequently gave them as recompense a horse or an elephant. He was wholly of a noble nature, ready to forgive injuries and yielding to the wishes of others. He was offered by the King the highest honours and a million a year,<sup>1</sup> if he would abjure the true religion. But he preferred to be afflicted with the people of God and to live less rich, so that he might win the wealth of heaven and become a partaker and heir of everlasting life. He it was who turned back upon their author the poisoned darts aimed against the Society by an ecclesiastic high in honour, and delivered the Mogor Missionaries from grievous punishment. It is he, lastly, who freed Father Henry Busi (*Buseum*) from undeserved bonds, and with Christian freedom addressing the King, offered his head to the sword, if the sentence on the Father were to be carried into effect.

"He married Helena, a distinguished lady, and had three sons by her, Mirsa [Mirzā] Observam [John Baptist], Mirsa Eres [Īrij, Īrich, Gaspar], Mirsa Daniel [Dānyāl, Michael], and he might have seen them all advanced to high honour during his lifetime, to the dignity of Mancebedars and Umbras, if they had embraced the law of Mahomet. This the King firmly promised him."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Latin has *ad millionem annui redditus*, which may be read to mean a *koti* (crore) a year (really 10,000,000), which at that time, as a monetary expression, meant Rs. 2,500 in cash. See Stein, *Kathana's Rājataranginī* (tr.) II. 323, and elsewhere in Note II thereto." [R. C. T.].—Whatever may have been at times in India the meaning of a *koti* of rupees, our latinist had in view "a million of annual revenue." A million of what? It matters little: we understand that the 8 lakhs a year which passed through the Mirzā's hands (1649-51), 2 or 3 lakhs of which were his balance of profits, represented a million in European parlance, and 8 lakhs seem to have been offered him as the price of apostasy. Cf. *supra*, p. 162. [H. H.]

<sup>2</sup> I published the Latin text of the passage and part of the translation in *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 459-460. The rest of the translation, minus a few slight changes, is from Sir R. C. Temple's *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, II. 381-332.

I am partly responsible for some errata in Sir R. C. Temple's Appendix E (*ibid.*, II. 374-381). Mirzā Zū-J-Qarnain was

We have not discovered the year of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain's death. We fancy it was about 1656, when he would have been about 64 years old.<sup>1</sup>

If he died at Sāmbhar, it is likely that he was buried there. We should expect that there was something like a family grave at Sāmbhar, since the Sikandar family resided there so long. At any rate there must have been a Christian Cemetery at Sāmbhar, and a number of Syrian, Armenian or Portuguese inscriptions might still be discovered there. Unfortunately, I am afraid that we are only slowly awakening to the fact that an Armenian scholar, with a historian's tastes and aptitudes, should be deputed to compile a list of the many valuable inscriptions to be found in their hundreds all over India.

It is more likely, however, that Zū-l-Qarnain did not die at Sāmbhar. The last years of his life appear to have been spent near the Court at Delhi. It is not probable that he was buried at Delhi, for his father's tomb could not have been there, since Delhi was not one of the capitals in 1613. Lahore and Agra are more likely places to look for his tomb.

The oldest Catholic Cemetery of Delhi has disappeared or remains to be discovered. It is possible that Zū-l-Qarnain was buried at Lahore, in the grave erected to his wife Helena, or again at Agra. The Christians in Mogor had a special veneration for the Agra Cemetery. Agra was to them like the mother-church in Mogor. For a long time, it must have been the only consecrated ground in that direction. People dying at great distances from Agra were carried thither for Christian burial. There was also for many years of the 17th century a cemetery at Lahore; yet, some people who had died at Lahore were buried at Agra. Jerome Veroneo, the designer of the Tāj, died at Lahore in 1640, but was brought to Agra eventually. Father Joseph de Castro, who died at Lahore in 1646, was translated to Agra two years later. Father A. Ceschi di Santa Croce, who died at Delhi on the 28th June 1656, was similarly transferred to Agra. In the 17th century, several persons deceased at Delhi were interred at Agra, and we find there others who died at Bharatpur in the 18th century.

We must say, however, that, though Sikandar senior died in 1613, and though what is called Padres Santos' Cemetery began to be used in 1611, his grave has not been traced at Agra. He had left Rs. 3,000 for his tomb and a mortuary chapel to be erected over it. Now, if that chapel had been in Padres Santos' Cemetery, it should still be there, like that of Khwāja Martinus (1611). It is not there. Was it perhaps at Lahore, since he left Rs. 600 to arrange a Cemetery for the Christians of that place? A mortuary chapel would have been useful in the Lahore Cemetery, while at Agra there was one already.

Left to our own resources, we can but guess. Did there exist, perhaps, at Agra a special graveyard for the Sikandar family, say in close proximity to Padres Santos'

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Sikandar's eldest son (born *circa* 1592); Mirzā Iškandarūs was born *circa* 1595 (p. 374); 1633 at p. 374 should be 1632 as at p. 380; 4 or 8 *lākh* of rupees (p. 375) should be 8 *lākh* of rupees or 4 *lākh* of scudi; hence, the value of the scudo is calculated too low at pp. 379, 380; it should be the same as that of the cruzado, *i.e.*, Rs. 2; March 6 is correct (p. 380), but February 13 should be March 13 (p. 380); finally, all Zū-l-Qarnain's sons did not predecease their father (p. 375).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. App. C.

Cemetery, within the fields which a strong tradition says belonged and should still belong to the Catholic Mission of Agra? There must have existed some sort of Cemetery there.

"On a low mound, under a tree 60 paces from the north wall of the enclosure of the tomb of Abul Ala, and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile from No. 4 milestone on the Poya [Puya] Ghat Road" (*Agra Archaeological Society Transactions*, January to June 1876, Agra, 1876), there is a group of six stones, three of them with inscriptions, one of which records the name of one of Zū-l-Qarnain's great-granddaughters.

The inscription, which I copied myself at the place in December 1912, runs thus: AQUI IAS/BIBI ANN/A DESSA/BIZNETA/DE MIRZA/GULCAR/[N?]EN FALE/CEO EM D/ILLI AOS/12 DE MAR/CO DE 1736 / (Here lies Bibi Anna Dessa [=de Sa], the great-granddaughter of Mirzā Gulcar(n)en, who died at Dilli [Dihli, Delhi], on the 12th of March of 1736).

Compare, in passing, the spelling *Gulcarnen* with *Ghool-kurneyl*, as C. Hyrapiet has it from the Armenian writers (*supra*, p. 120, and *infra* App. E).

A small MS. leaf in the Agra Cathedral Archives exhibits decipherments of the inscriptions on these stones, with a tentative restoration of the text and an English translation. It is undated. If the author is Col. A. S. Allen, who on December 9, 1848, drew up a plan of the Martyrs' Chapel and deciphered its inscriptions, leaving a signed and dated copy for the Agra Fathers, the date of it would also be 1848. Possibly it is older, for my impression, while at Agra, was that the writing in both papers differed.

My reading of Bibi Dessa's inscription was found to agree with the Agra MS., except that, where I had read: 2 de Março, the Agra MS. had 12 de Março. I made the change accordingly. The MS. was wrong in translating *bizneta* (bisneta) by granddaughter.

Why should Bibi Dessa, who died at Delhi, and several of the members of her family, have been buried in that now solitary spot at Agra, unless it contained some family graveyard? <sup>1</sup>

Some of the ramifications of the Sikandar family were to be found at Aleppo (Syria) in 1652. In January of that year we find at Lahore one of Zū-l-Qarnain's nephews, George, a young "nobleman," who had come from Aleppo and spent more than two years in Mogor. Just then he was preparing to go to Rome and offer to His Holiness the respectful homage of his uncle, Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain, and of his relatives in India. We may note also here that in at least two places of the Jesuit letters the name of the Mirzā is given as Zū-l-Qarnain "Cururim" (?), the addition being a puzzle to me.

Between 1670 and 1678 we hear also of one Nuralla, "a relative of our Brother Mirzā Zulcarner, the Founder of the College of Agra," who, while at Delhi, took into his house a sick Hindū woman, the slave of a Rājput, and was instrumental in having her baptized before she died.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the graves near that of Bibi Anna Dessa cf. App. B.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Carta Annua do Imperio do Grao Mogol do anno de 1670 até o de 1678 p.a o nosso M. R. P. Joam Paulo Oliva*

Fr. Manoel Figueredo, S.J., a Missionary in Mogor and a contemporary of Bibi Anna Dessa, has left us a short account of Zū-l-Qarnain. Written as it was 75 years or so after Zū-l-Qarnain's death, it distorts already considerably the real facts. It must rest on the traditions current in 1735, since, as the Father remarks, the earliest documents of the Agra Mission had been plundered.<sup>1</sup>

“On the death of Akbar, Joanquir [Jahāngir] ascended the throne and reigned 23 years. During his reign, a young Armenian, born of Christian parents and called Tulkarnet [*sic*; Zū-l-Qarnain] was brought up at the court. As the boy advanced in years, his zeal for the faith grew greater, although the Emperor often tried with manifold caresses and repeated menaces to gain him over to his sect. Once, pointing with his finger to the highest tower of the Royal Palace he threatened the youthful Christian athlete that, unless he abandoned the law of Christ, he would have him thrown from the top. The boy immediately ran away from the Emperor and mounted the tower. After some hours the Emperor asked for his Tulkarnet; and, being told that he had run away for fear, he ordered to make a search for him and bring him to his presence. They found him on the said tower, and, as the Emperor wished to know why he had fled thither, the boy said quite eagerly, ‘To be the quicker ready for Heaven, when Your Majesty would give the order to throw me down.’—‘Are you not afraid of death, then?’ asked the King. ‘No,’ answered the youth, ‘for who dies for God lives for ever in Heaven.’” This answer pleased the King so greatly that he prevailed on his sons to accept Tulkarnet as their brother; as for him, he made him later an Amire or Ombrāu, that is, a Lord of the first rank, and gave him quite generously the revenues belonging to that dignity.

“Now, Tulkarnet received some information about the zeal of our Missionaries; he asked, therefore, the Reverend Fr. Provincial of the Goa Province to send him some Priests. His request was willingly granted and he received them with the greatest affection.<sup>2</sup> Tulkarnet founded for them from his income a College at Agra, whence soon many Apostles were sent through the Kingdom, who laid the foundation-stone of the Mogor Mission; all this with the Emperor's consent, which the cherished courtier<sup>3</sup> had obtained from him.

“After Joanquir's death, his son Sachajan ascended the throne. He was as well inclined towards Tulkarnet as his father had been. Once this Emperor sent a Jesuit from the town of Lahor into misery because he had disputed too hotly with the Mahometans on religious matters. As soon as Tulkarnet was informed of this, he went to the Emperor and asked him where was his Birtzadak (which means a son of the most just).<sup>4</sup> The Emperor answered that he had fled from the country. Thereupon Tulkarnet shook a pillar of the Emperor's throne and said with great earnestness :

*Preposito geral da Companhia de Jesus*, by Fr. Joseph Freire, S.J., Goa, 27th December 1678. MS. in my possession, fol. 88v.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Joseph Stocklein and others, S.J., *Der Neue-Weltbott* . . . (38 vols., 1728-61), 31ster Theil, No. 595, i.e., letter from Mogor, 1735, to Maria Anna, Queen of Portugal, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> This story of the tower is not to be found in the very ample letters of the Jesuits between 1600-1610.

<sup>3</sup> A flagrant anachronism, as we know.

<sup>4</sup> The cherished courtier (*der beliebte Hoff-Herr*) was either Zū-l-Qarnain or 'Asaf Khān, the former rather.

<sup>5</sup> *Birtzadak* (*heist einen Sohn des Gerechtesten*).



'What is this throne of Solomon at last coming to?' Hereupon the Emperor marvelled, remarking full well that Tulkarnet refused him his help for the protection of his throne. He promised him therefore at once that the Missionary would come back as soon as possible to the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> What I have just related happened in the presence of the Ombras, or chief Courtiers, and they seized this opportunity to accuse the good Tulkarnet of leze-majesty. But the Emperor told them, 'Tulkarnet has at heart the welfare of the kingdom; hence, he takes the liberty to warn us of danger; no one else is allowed to do this.'

"As long as this pillar of the faith was standing, Christianity too stood firm; but no sooner had Tulkarnet descended into the grave, advanced in years and redolent with the perfume of his excellent virtues, than the fabric of the Church began to shake, and the Grandees of the Kingdom who were devoted to Mahomet dared again to harass us: one of them went so far as to take possession of our College at Agra, on the plea that all Tulkarnet's property reverted to the Emperor's exchequer. To avoid a greater evil, the Fathers were obliged to submit to this injustice and to hide for a time in secret corners. However, they trusted always in the Providence of Almighty God, and soon they experienced its effects. For the Ombrao, against all expectation, called the Fathers and told them to occupy their College again. The Mother of God, he said, to whom the Church of Agra is dedicated, had appeared to him and had threatened him with death, unless he restored their house to the Missionaries. The College had been robbed of many things, but the Fathers had to keep silent about the plunder and consider themselves happy that they had recovered a fixed abode."<sup>3</sup>

Let us now return to 'Abdu-l-Hayy and see what else can be discovered about him and his family.

In the 35th year of Akbar's reign one 'Abdu-l-Hayy, Mir 'Adl or Chief Justice of the Empire, took part together with Sadr Jahān Mufti in a drinking bout, and Akbar was so amused at seeing his ecclesiastical and judicial dignitaries over their cups that he quoted a well-known verse from Hafiz (*Āin*, transl. I. 468, No. 194). Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Hayy Mir 'Adl appears in the *Tabaqāt* and Abul Fazl's list of Akbar's grandees as a commander of 500 (*ibid.*, I. 534, No. 178), Abul Fazl's list stopping at the 40th year of Akbar's reign (*ibid.*, I. 535).

In the 43rd year, he was Qāzi of the Imperial camp (urdū). Cf. *ibid.*, I. 471. The *Tabaqāt* calls him Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Hai and says he was an Amīr (*ibid.*, I. 480, No. 230). In Badāūni's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* (Low's transl. II. 64), a witty saying is ascribed to Mir 'Abdu-l-Hayy, and Mr. H. Beveridge notes (*Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, transl., II. 194 n.) that in some of the MSS. of the *Akbarnāma* 'Abdu-l-Hayy, whom Mr. Beveridge identifies with our Armenian, is mentioned as taking part in the religious discussions. Finally, one 'Abdu-l-Hayy and Bihzād are compared in the 13th year of Jahāngīr's reign (1618) with the painter Ustād Manšūr, Nādiru-z-zamān ("the wonder of the

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be: "What has become of the Emperor's wisdom and justice?"

<sup>2</sup> The story may be a reminiscence of what happened to Fr. Busi (*alias* Uwens), as we saw in Fr. Botelho's narrative.

<sup>3</sup> This story of the occupation of the College may be a corrupt account of what happened, during the Mirzā's lifetime, in 1635.

age"). "If at this day the masters 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Bihzād were alive, they would have done him [Manṣūr] justice." (*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, transl., II. 20).<sup>1</sup>

Probably a great deal more can be found in the Muḥammadan authors to bear out what Fr. Corsi says about our Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, viz., that he was an honourable man (*honrado* means honest, also notable), and that, by marrying his daughter, Sikandar, already a servant of Akbar's, was much more esteemed at Court.

Mr. H. Beveridge writing to me (July 30, 1913) thought that 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, the Qāzī, could have been no connection of Zū-l-Qarnain, because none but an approved Muḥammadan could be a Qāzī. "'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, the father of your Juliana," he writes, "probably got his name because he became a Mussulman, or because he chose a name (servant of God) that could be appropriate for a Christian. But his conversion [to Muḥammadanism], even if it took place, would not be sufficient to make him a Qāzī or a Chief Justice."

A Muḥammadan gentleman, signing A., objected in the same sense in *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 3 or 4 days after I had published in that paper (6th July, 1913) an abstract of my monograph on Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain, which I presented to the Asiatic Society on July 2nd, 1913. "I quite agree," he wrote, that Zū-l-Qarnain died as a Christian, and that his father and the family were Christians. But, this does not show that every member of the family for all time were Christians. For instance, Father Hosten says that Khwāja or Mīr 'Abdul Hai was the Qāzī of the Imperial Camp. But, it is a well-known fact that, in order to be a Qāzī, or Judge, one must be a follower of Islam. Even 'infidel' Akbar never had the courage to appoint a Christian or a Hindū to be a Qāzī. To me it is quite clear that, at one time or another, certain (if not all) of the members of the Sikandar family became Moslems, but some of them died in their ancestral faith. The word 'Mīr' can be assumed by non-Syeds, but it is doubtful whether it can be assumed by one professing the Christian faith."

I answer. If my friend A. has followed the story thus far, it will be less clear to his mind that, at one time or another, certain (if not all) of the members of the Sikandar family became Moslems, and, since he is not sure whether the title "Mīr" could have been assumed or not by Christian, how can he be so sure, that Akbar never had the courage to appoint a Christian as Mīr 'Adl or Qāzī? He takes for granted what must be proved, and forgets that historical matters cannot be settled by the canon of personal feeling. He cannot see an exception in the case of so exceptional a potentate as Akbar. What, if at the time of Akbar's vagaries in matters of religion, an Armenian, a Christian, joined in flattering him in his attempts at self-apotheosis? What, even without that?

Let the references we have adduced be carefully examined and weighed, and let it be shown how they should be split up into two parts, some applicable to our Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, some to his namesake, the Khwāja and Mīr 'Adl. If I err in

the application of some of my references, probably I err in good company, that of Professor Blochmann and perhaps Mr. Beveridge himself.

If the title "Mīr" could not be given to a Christian, what about the title *Mirzā*? Mr. Beveridge wrote to me (July 30th, 1913): "The use of the word *Mirzā* in Zū-l-Qarnain's case is curious. It is noteworthy that, as far as I know, no native writer gives him the title. They call him Zū-l-Qarnain Firinghī. I fancy his humble relations and admirers called him *Mirzā* out of flattery, and because he was a clerkly man. One might suggest that he really was a bastard son of Akbar's and so was called *Mir-zā*. But, I do not adopt this view, though the position of his mother in Akbar's harem is an equivocal one." I can understand the astonishment of my correspondents on hearing every male member of a Christian family in Mogor designated for three generations at least by the title of *Mirzā*, and that not only by the Fathers and Christians dependent on them, but by European travellers and factors generally. We may say that our story from start to finish is an extraordinary one, and since the relations between Akbar, 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, Sikandar and his children were such as we see, since Sikandar's children grew up in the palace, travelled with Akbar in his palanquin, played about the Court with the future *Shāh Jahān*, who would be surprised, whatever be the reason for the reticence of the *Muḥammadan* historians, if our Zū-l-Qarnain had been honoured with the title of *Mirzā* in the inner circle of the palace? *Shāh Jahān* called him *Mirzā* (Cf. *supra*, p. 164), and there can be no doubt that he was an *Amīr*.

If we suppose, as we do, that Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy is identical with the Chief Justice of that name, it would follow that he had a brother, *Mir* 'Abdu-llah, who played the *qanūn* or harp at Court (*Āīn*, transl., I, 613).<sup>1</sup> Here again, I shall be asked whether I have any other authority. I have no other; for I suppose he is different from *Mir* 'Abdu-llah, the calligrapher (*ibid.*, I, 103). He was not, I think, the 'Abdu-llah, who in 1579 came to Goa as Akbar's ambassador asking for the Jesuits. (Cf. pp. 151 n. 1; 173.) The ambassador was a *Shīah*. (Cf. Monserrate).

Privately, I threw out another suggestion, in the hope of discovering at last Akbar's Christian wife. I now waive the point. It was that 'Abdu-l-Wāsi, whose wife Akbar married in A.H. 970 (*Āīn*, transl., I, 309) might stand for 'Abdu-l-Masīh (servant of the Messiah). But, 'Abdu-l-Wāsi's story in Lowe's translation of *Badāūnī* (II, 59-61) and H. Beveridge's *Akbarnāma* (II, 204 n.) shows that I was venturing into a blind alley.

I spoke of Akbar's Christian wife. I have found so far no allusion to her in the Jesuit letters. She is a most elusive being. So, too, was Lady Juliana of Akbar's time.

The Vicar-Apostolic of Agra writing in 1832 to the traveller Dr. Wolff (see Wolff's *Researches and Travels*, 1835)<sup>2</sup> said that the Jesuits first gained Akbar's favour by means of a certain Signora Juliana of Goa, who as a lady doctor was in Akbar's seraglio. A note in the Agra Mission Archives states that Juliana, an Armenian

<sup>1</sup> Music and poetry, Zū-l-Qarnain's accomplishments, may have been hereditary in his family.

<sup>2</sup> I quote him through General R. Maclagan in *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 53 n. 1, as I cannot get hold of the book.

lady, was in medical charge of Akbar's harem and married [John] Philip of the house of Navarre.<sup>1</sup> Col. Kincaid reporting the Bourbon tradition (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1887, p. 165) says she was sister to Akbar's Christian wife.

For the first time now we have an authoritative, contemporaneous statement from Father Corsi, who was in Mogor from 1600, about a Bibi Juliana in Akbar's time. The information given to Dr. Wolff in 1832 reflected a correct tradition in this point at least. Why, however, should the Bishop of Agra have called her Juliana "of Goa," unless he supposed her to have been of Portuguese extraction, which, we have seen, she was not. The note in the Agra Mission Archives about Juliana, an *Armenian Lady*, is more correct. Was there not, after all, lurking in the Bishop's mind a confusion between the Juliana of Akbar's time and Dona Juliana Dias da Costa of Shāh Ālam's reign? The more so, because the Jesuits do not hint that Bibi Juliana was a doctoress, while there is evidence that the later Lady Juliana was. (H. BEVERIDGE, *East and West*, Bombay, 1903, June, reprint, p. 7).

If Akbar had a Christian wife, Bibi Juliana and her sister ought to bring us very close to her and tear the veil of her concealment. Certainly, some curious things were going on in the women's quarters and other parts of the palace.

In 1505-06, Father Jerome Xavier, Father Manoel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict Goes were living near Akbar's Palace, within the Lahore Fort. Their house was along the river, and, when the King went to his pleasure-boat, he passed sometimes that side with his daughters, one of them a marriageable girl, and, what is more, he would call the Fathers and hold converse with them, while in his daughters' company, a breach of Moslem etiquette. "In this matter, the King and the Prince [Salim, later Jahāngīr] have great confidence in us, and, when we go to see the Prince, we go with his permission along the River,<sup>2</sup> under the window of his wives, and sometimes, when we come back, the daughter of the King [Akbar] calls out to us from above, 'Eh, Padri, Padri! By the sign of the Holy Cross God deliver us!' And it seems that she learned this from a small girl, the daughter of Domingo Piz [Pirez], an Armenian, who brought us from Goa, and who [the girl] is with the Queen the greater part of the year."<sup>3</sup>

Who was this Domingo Pires, an Armenian again? In 1579 he acted as interpreter to 'Abdu-llah, the ambassador whom Akbar sent to invite the Jesuits of Goa to Fatehpur Sikri. We hear next of his getting into some trouble with Akbar in 1582: but, on September 24th, 1582, the Emperor assisted at his marriage with an Indian woman, the Emperor translating to the woman Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva's Persian sermon, and sitting down afterwards with his children and two of his principal chiefs at a banquet *à la Portugaise* in the Fathers' house.<sup>4</sup> In 1595, he accompanied from Goa to Lahore the Fathers of the third Mission.<sup>5</sup> In 1596, we find him at Lahore with his daughter. As the Fathers of the third Mission were still ignorant of Persian, he acted as their interpreter before the King.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To be quoted more fully further. Cf. p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> The river flowed then close to the walls of the Fort.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier, S.J. (Lahore, 8 September, 1596), fol. 248r. MS. letter in my possession.

<sup>4</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 48, 56, 57.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> This last detail which I take from the MS. Jesuit letters I cannot now lay hands on for the exact reference.

On August 15, 1596, Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, a Christian in Akbar's service asked and obtained some precious cloths to adorn the chapel of the Fathers with. Probably he was the same "honourable" Christian (Sikandar, senior?) who related to the Fathers, as having assisted at the scene, that, when one of the King's "worshippers" (*Darsani* is the word used by the Missionaries) called him 'Īsā (Jesus), son of Mary, the King forbade him to do so again.<sup>1</sup>

"Last year [1595], before the whole people, the King had a reliquary of Our Lady attached with a gold chain round his neck,<sup>2</sup> and he gave it to a small boy, a Christian [Zū-l-Qarnain], the son of an Armenian Christian, whom he had about his neck, and kissing it with his lips and eyes he gave it [to the boy] to kiss and put it on his eyes and finally he hung it on his breast and gave it him. This, while at the window, *coram omni populo* (before the whole people)."<sup>3</sup>

The Fathers' house was so close to the quarters of the King's seraglio that the Fathers abstained from sleeping on the terrace. Now, "at the end of this summer (*veraḍ*), which really was very hot [1596], a boy who is always going with the King began to come to school. The King treats him like his son, and there are not wanting who say that he is (but this is known to God); at any rate, he does not deal more familiarly with his grandson [Khurram, later Shāh Jahān], the son of the Prince [Salīm]." The boy found the Fathers' house so hot that he wondered how they could sleep in it, and he must have spoken about it to the King, for the King came to call out to the Fathers that he was very sorry he had not thought of it, and he ordered directly a boat specially arranged for sleeping on the river to be attached in front of their house. After that the Fathers had the coolest sleeping accommodation to be found in Lahore.<sup>4</sup> In the light of our later documents we have no difficulty in recognising Sikandar (senior) in the Armenian, and in the small boy his son Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain.

Eight years later (1604), Father Jérôme Xavier brings upon the scene Akbar, the Queen, Sikandar, his sons Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain and Mirzā Iškandarūs, and his wife, Bībī Juliana's sister. These were the circumstances:—

A Portuguese and an Englishman (John Mildnall, no doubt) circulated a malicious slander against the Fathers. It was to the effect that "we had killed so and so, and so and so, that we were spies and traitors to the Emperor whose salt we ate, that we stole whatever we could lay hands on, and other things much worse: *non erat malum in civitate* (there was no evil in the city) which was not our doing, especially mine." The Fathers were in great doubt as to what action they should take. "Finally, one day, while at the palace, I was taken aside by a prominent Armenian (*hū Armenio principal*), whom the King favours greatly and to whose two sons, whom he keeps near him, he shows much affection. 'Father,' he told me, 'such a one says this and that of you. The Christians, all of us, have decided not to enter your Church any more and not to send to it our wives and children (*filhos*), until you show that what that man says is false. For, how can we otherwise trust to you our wives and children? Believe me, your reputation is lost before the other children of the captains, and therefore before

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Fr. Jer. Xavier (Lahore, 8 Sept., 1596), fol. 252 r. <sup>2</sup> Perhaps the one of 1580. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of 8 Sept. 1596, fol. 252 v.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 253 r.

their parents, and you cannot show your face before anyone. We too are very much ashamed. If you are innocent, the remedy is that you speak to the King, so that, knowing the truth, he may order the guilty party to be punished. If what that man says is true, there is no reason why we should remain deceived; if it is not true, there is no reason why we should have in the country a man who causes so much harm to his Padres, etc.' Thus spoke the Armenian, and I, after telling the truth to my Fathers and brothers, was much troubled and *cogitabam qualis esset ista conjuratio* (I reflected what this conspiracy might mean), for I did not suspect matters had come to such a pass. I said, 'Give me time till the morning and the day after, for it is the eve of the Feast of the Ascension. I must hear some confessions and we shall recommend the matter to God. I shall come and see you. What I can tell you now is that I do not belong to myself, but to the Christians. As you will, so will I. I shall do what the Christians wish me to do.' We recommended the matter to the Father of Mercies, asking Him to remove this trouble from us and show us what we had to do. When we assembled on the above-mentioned day, it appeared *ex communi consensu* (to all unanimously) that the evil could be remedied only by speaking to the King. We resolved to do so, and our prayer those days was: 'Lord, if this resolution is not according to Thy Most Holy Will, prevent it; if Thou art to be served thereby, favour it.' The next Saturday, we went to the palace, the Father [Fr. Anthony Machado] and I, with the said Armenian, and through a son of his [of the Armenian's] we sent word to the King that his father and we wished to speak to His Majesty about an important affair. He [Akbar] answered asking what it was, and without waiting for the answer lay down to sleep. When we sent him our answer, there was no time to give it him, for, on awaking, he went at once to the Mahal, or place where are the women, and there he remained till night. We returned without effecting anything, yet we came home at eight in the evening and went early in the morning. The next day we returned late in the day, and *praeter morem* (against his custom) we found the King was with his women. I spoke to a great favourite of his and asked him to get me admitted to the King, as I had to speak to him in private about an affair of great importance to me. He promised to do it, because I wished it; but that day too nothing was done. The next day, the Armenian told me, '*My wife must go to see the Queen in the morning. She will tell her that you wish to speak secretly with the King and she will tell the King.*' This appeared a good plan, but the woman did not go that day, and, the next day, though her husband promised she would go without fail, she did not go either." The third time, the Fathers seeing that all the occasions to meet the King privately were spoiled by unforeseen circumstances, concluded that it was not God's wish that they should clear their own reputation before the King. Eventually, the Portuguese confessed that his accusations were mere calumnies.<sup>1</sup>

Who was this Queen? Was she the same as the Queen we heard of in 1598, the childless Queen who adopted Bibi Juliana's two sons,<sup>2</sup> the same with whom Domingo Pires' little daughter was the greater part of the year, the same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Letter of Fr. Jer. Xavier, Agra, Sept. 6, 1604, foll. 12r-13r (photographic copy in my possession). The story is told briefly in *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 93-94.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 132.

finally *who insisted* that Sikandar should marry his deceased wife's sister?<sup>1</sup> The childless Queen may have been Akbar's first wife, Sultān Ruqaiyah Begam. What interest had she in the matter of this marriage? Why should she have been so partial in this affair as to prevail upon Akbar and Sikandar against the opposition of the Jesuits? Perhaps, as the Bourbon tradition, *teste* Col. Kincaid, has it, there was in the harem another sister of Juliana's.<sup>2</sup> Distinct from Sikandar senior's second wife, she would have been Akbar's Christian concubine. This would explain how Bibi Juliana and her sister, and apparently too Domingo Pires' wife, moved freely in and out of the palace, either as lady doctors or as friends and relatives.

In those days, throughout the 17th century and even later, many Armenians or Asiatic Christians, as well as many Europeans and their half-caste descendants, made their way into the Court of the Moghul Emperors and other Indian Princes as doctors and surgeons. In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed are kings. Even Zū-l-Qarnain, if I remember well certain MS. letters, had some knowledge of medicine, based probably on family traditions. For aught I know, he may be the Ḥakīm Maṣiḥuzzamān, who was summoned from Lahore in 1644 to help in curing Shāh Jahān's daughter, Princess Jahānārā Begam.<sup>3</sup> If Maṣiḥuzzamān means "the Christian of the age," the title would be applicable to him. However, I do not insist on this now.<sup>4</sup>

If one of Akbar's queens was a Christian related to Lady Juliana, we understand why the childless Queen and Akbar treated Zū-l-Qarnain and his brother as their adopted children, and why the popular impression was that Zū-l-Qarnain was Akbar's son by Juliana. The people saw Juliana move freely about at Court and out of it, while the life of the Queen, her sister, was wrapped in the obscurity of the harem; hence, it was easy to construe Akbar's predilection for Zū-l-Qarnain into some former *liaison* between Akbar and Juliana. Again, if one of Akbar's queens was Juliana's sister, we understand why Akbar should have raised Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Sikandar senior, his father-in-law and brother-in-law, to such high rank; why he wrote to the Pope to have Sikandar's marriage with Juliana's sister legitimated; why Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān looked upon Mirza Zū-l-Qarnain as one of the household, and maintained him in his father's dignity. Yet, when all is said, there remains the sturdy fact that in the many Jesuit letters of the period which we have seen (we have not seen them all, however), we have not found any clearer intimation that Akbar had a Christian wife.<sup>5</sup>

"Mr. Fanthome in his *Reminiscences of Agra*, 2nd edition, 1895, maintains stoutly the existence of a Christian wife called Mary (apart from Mariamu-z-zamānī); he says that the Mission of 1580 erected their chapel in Mary's *koṭhī* at Fathpur (pp. 13,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. GUERREIRO's *Relaçam* of 1605—06, fol. 152v-155r.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 173. <sup>3</sup> Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 119, 120.

<sup>4</sup> There was a Muḥammadan Ḥakīm Maṣiḥuzzamān under Jahāngīr. Cf. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, transl., I. 155; 267; 374; II. 217.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that this Queen had reared Sikandar's two sons in the Moorish aversion for pork could be explained by saying that, as pork would not have been allowed into the harem, and the children always heard it spoken of as unclean, they had conceived a great loathing for it.

The late W. Irvine, who was in communication with Fr. S. Noti, S.J., while Fr. Noti and myself were discussing these matters, expressed it as his opinion that 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy was a Persian and had three daughters: one a concubine in the harem; another (Bibi Juliana) one of its superintendents, who would have been given in marriage to Sikandar of Sāmbar fame; the third, who married Sikandar after Juliana's death. (*Letter of Fr. S. Noti, S.J.*, July 31st, 1913.) To form his judgment the reader is now in possession of fuller data.

14), and that the captives taken away by Aquaviva in 1583 were Mary's slaves (p. 26), but does not give his authorities. He says also that he has seen a document of Shāh Ālam's declaring that the priests were granted a pension by the influence of the said Mary (p. 6)."<sup>1</sup>

Fanthome's work is of very little value now, and, if his tradition about a Christian wife rests on the document of Shāh Ālam's reign, it proves nothing. The farmāns granted by the Emperors to the Jesuits of the Mogor Mission have just been published by Fr. Felix, O.C., for the *Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. 1, Calcutta, 1916. They mention no Mary of Akbar's time. There exists in the Agra Mission Archives (p. 85, No. 67) a Persian document to the following effect: "A writ on the part of one Maria Piari to the effect that she is living in the house of Padre Sahib, and that nobody is to claim it as hers after her death; dated 3rd Zilhij 1057 Hijri" (A.D. 1647). In another document dated 11th Rabi-ul-awwal in the 16th year of Shāh Ālam we read: "Be it known to the Mutsaddies of Mauza Lashkerpore, illaqa Akbarabad [Agra], that the two groves of trees forming the cemetery of Christians, which were granted by Maryam, has been in the possession of Father Wendel. It is hereby ordered that the said groves be allowed to continue in his possession. He is not in any way to be molested."<sup>2</sup> Probably, Maryam and Maria Piari are one and the same, in which case they are of no use in the question of Akbar's Christian wife.

Akbar's Christian wife, if she existed, may have indeed been called Mary, but she was not Mariam Makānī, this being the title of Akbar's mother; nor do I see how she could be Mariam Zamānī, the title belonging apparently to Jahāngīr's mother. Perhaps, there is no need, either, to explain the *Mariam kī kothī* at Fatehpur Sikri by supposing that it was the house of one Mariam, Akbar's Christian wife. The appellation would be explained on the supposition that the *kothī* contained the Jesuit Chapel with its picture of Our Lady. However, I doubt whether the house was occupied by the Jesuit Fathers in 1580-83.

Professor H. Blochmann thought that Juliana was herself one of Akbar's concubines, but the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* to which he refers (cf. *Āīn*, translation, I. 618) states merely that a daughter of 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, an Armenian, was in the service of Akbar's harem, and that Akbar gave her in marriage to Iskandar, the Armenian, by whom she had two sons.<sup>3</sup>

Some of my friends have supposed that John Philip de Bourbon can be identified with Sikandar. They contend with Col. Kincaid that John Philip de Bourbon married Lady Juliana. The present state of our knowledge will not allow it. It is impossible to suppose that the Jesuits, especially a Navarrais like Jerome Xavier, mistook a Navarrais for an Armenian or a Syrian from Aleppo. We do not see, either, how John Philip de Bourbon could be identical with 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. In this case, Juliana would have been J. P. de Bourbon's daughter married to M. Sikandar. But 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, too, was an Armenian or, at least, an Asiatic Christian. There are

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 53 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. [FR. FELIX, O.C.] *Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra . . . for the year 1907*, p. 208 and p. 208 n. 40. It remains to be seen whether the above documents have been properly read.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. ROGERS and H. BEVERIDGE, *The Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, London, 1914, II. 194.



also obvious reasons against supposing that J. P. de Bourbon was the father of Mirzā Sikandar senior by a Syrian woman from Aleppo. Yet, one of the versions of the Bourbon story gives one Alexander as the son of J. P. de Bourbon.<sup>1</sup> Was de Bourbon perhaps the father of 'Abdu-l-Hayy and 'Abdu-llah? How is it possible?

The version recorded by Rousselet in *India and its Native Princes*, p. 428 sqq., seems to bring us close to our own story of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain and his father, Prince J. P. de Bourbon, it says, after long serving Akbar, would have died at Agra, leaving two sons, whom he had by a Georgian slave of the palace, and the eldest of these two sons, Alexander de Bourbon, as Sikandar de Bourbon, became the favourite of Jahāngīr, who granted him the hereditary office of Governor of the Palace of the Begams, beside the important fief of Sirgarh (Shergarh). Georgian and Armenian are practically interchangeable.

These coincidences notwithstanding, we cannot suppose that there were at the same time about Akbar's seraglio two Julianas alike in description, the one known through the Jesuits, the other only through the hereto obscure family traditions of the Bourbons of Bhopal, and we must conclude that J. P. de Bourbon's wife was not a Juliana.

If some papers now in the possession of the Rev. Father S. Noti, S.J., formerly of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, can be relied on, J. P. de Bourbon's wife was an Abyssinian princess by the name of Magdalena, and he remained faithful to her till the end.<sup>2</sup> These papers show that Akbar had made him Rājā of Shergarh near Narwar, and that he was still alive in 1606, when he was either 85 or 89 years old. By his wife Magdalena he had two sons: Alexander, born in about 1550 when he was Governor of Diu, and Saveil (Charles?), born to him at Shergarh, about 1560, *i.e.*, after the capture of Chitor (*sic*).<sup>3</sup> More I cannot say in this direction without violating another's literary property. Wonderfully enough, J. P. de Bourbon's name and his titles never come under the pen of the Jesuits.

The only story of a Frenchman which has some resemblance with the adventures of J. P. de Bourbon is the following in the Jesuit letters of 1608-09. It agrees a great deal with the Bourbon story in Father Noti's hands.

"A Frenchman of good talent (*de bõ entendimento*), a great workman at casting artillery, was taken by the Turks in the Mediterranean Sea in front of Marseilles and taken to Algiers, where they made him by force a Moor. While going as a soldier in the galleys of Algiers, he was taken by the Christians and kept in prison in the monastery of St. Francis of Valença in Aragaõ [Aragon]. Wishing to lead a free life (*cõ as saudades da vida larga*), he fled from there, travelled through Spain, Italy, Egypt, Ethiopia, and parts of India, and finally came to Lahor and Agra with his wife and children (*filhos*). The King made him Captain of 200 horse. He related many things of the Christians, chiefly about the many miracles of Our Lady of Monserrate. He fell ill, and, as he already knew Father Xavier, he called him, and,

<sup>1</sup> SIR J. MALCOLM, *A Memoir of Central India*, III. 341 n.

<sup>2</sup> Is it a mere coincidence that the nurse of Zū-l-Qarnain's children also bore the name of Magdalen?

<sup>3</sup> Chitor was taken in Feb. 1568.

As he had great authority among the Moors, he spoke before them with such affection of Christianity that those who heard him were astonished. The Frenchman confessed to the Father that he was a Christian and that the law of Mahomet had never satisfied him. The Father exhorted him to a general confession, giving him for the purpose a method, and at the same time a book of the Christian doctrine to read; and, as the spiritual physician continued for some days his ministrations to the sick man, he converted him and restored him to the use of the sacraments of Holy Mother Church. He received them with much devotion and many tears, and parted from this present life with manifest signs of salvation."<sup>1</sup>

Fr. Felix says that a note in the Agra Mission Archives states that "the old Church [of Agra] was built by Philip de Bourbon of the House of Navarre and his wife Juliana, an Armenian lady, who was in medical charge of the Emperor's harem. They are both buried in the Church itself. Probably the epitaphs are in Armenian."<sup>2</sup> On what authority is this note in the Agra Mission Archives based? To us it appears partly unreliable. The money with which the first Church of Agra was built came from Jahangir, from Khwaja Martin (+ 1611) and from Mirzā Sikandar senior. And, since the Agra Church built by Jahangir was destroyed by Shāh Jahān after December 8, 1635, no Armenian inscriptions are now to be found in the floor of the Chapel which was reconstructed on the spot of the former Church.<sup>3</sup> Is there question of the chapel which preceded the church of 1604?

It has been urged that John Philip de Bourbon is mentioned in some of the Jesuit letters, e.g. in du Jarric. It is said Prince Salim in 1602 had in his service one Giovanne Filippo through whom correspondence passed between the Jesuits and Prince Salim, who was then at Allahabād.<sup>4</sup> It must be remarked, however, that F. Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annal de 602. e 603....*, on which du Jarric's account is based, says he was an honourable Italian "who had come from Goa with the Fathers," and whose name was Jacome Felipe (James Philip). The name occurs four times in close succession in Ch. VIII, foll. 59r-61r. Besides, du Jarric has the name Jacques Philippe.<sup>5</sup> In Father Jerome Xavier's letter (Agra, 6th September, 1604) he is still spoken of as an Italian, but not by name.<sup>6</sup>

The genealogical tree of the Bourbons, as we have it through Col. W. Kincaid, does not tally with what we now learn about Mirzā Sikandar, his sons and grandsons. We do not mean to discredit the Bourbon story more than we can help, but we fear it must be largely modified. It is vitiated at its very source by making of Bibi Juliana the wife of J. P. de Bourbon. Such as it is, the Bourbon tradition must be a very old one, for it is until now the only Indian account through which the name of a Juliana of Akbar's reign had been perpetuated to us.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. GUERREIRO, S.J., *Relaçam annal das cousas.... de 1607 & 608.... Lisboa*, 1611, fol. 18r. The letters from India are of 1608 and 1609 (see note *ao lector*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. [Fr. Felix, o.c.], *Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra.... for the year 1907*, p. 204 n. 26.

<sup>3</sup> I found within the limits of the Catholic Cathedral compound of Agra only one Armenian inscription. It is in excellent condition, but must be deciphered. It was worked into the arch below the date 1772 on the frontispiece of the Native chapel and forms a window-sill. No one would suspect it there.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Troisième partie des choses plus memorables....*, Bovrdeavs, 1614, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 91, 92. I have examined my photographic copy of the letter.

There are other points which favour the antiquity of the Bourbon house of Bhopal. Saveille Bourbon (b. 1582)<sup>1</sup> is said to have married one Miss or Mrs. Allemaine in 1600. Now in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, there is an inscription recording that 10<sup>th</sup> ALEMAN/MORREO 16191 (=John Aleman died in 1619).<sup>2</sup> In 1712 (*sic*), a Francis de Bourbon married a Miss da Silva, who may have been a daughter of Xavier da Silva, who settled at Jaypur, at the Court of Jay Singh II., in the first quarter of the 18th century and became the progenitor of a long line of physicians.<sup>3</sup> Finally, Salvador de Bourbon (b. in 1736), who belonged to the sixth generation of Indian Bourbons, married a Miss "Bervette." She was evidently a descendant of the Frenchman Bravette, whom Manucci mentions (*Storia do Mogor*, I. 171) as having come to India in Jahāngīr's reign. Fr. Botelho says he was one of the King's lapidaries.<sup>4</sup> He had a son born to him at Agra, named Jacome Bravette, who is described as still a young man between 1648 and 1654. In December 1912 I found his epitaph in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra. It runs thus: AQVI IAZ IACO/ME BRAVETTE/FALECEO AOS/1 [*perhaps*: 7] DE MARCO/1686./ (=Here lies James Bravette who died on the 1st (7th?) of March 1686). After 1736 several other marriages took place between the Bravettes and the Bourbons.

According to Father A. Strobl's letters, a mission station and a Church with a resident priest were opened at Narwar in 1743, and, according to Col. Kincaid, Francis de Bourbon came to Narwar with all his clan to the number of about 300 souls not long after the plunder of Delhi in 1739. Three miles from there lies the now ruined Fort of Shergarh, which was entrusted to him. Fr. Tieffentaller does not, however, speak of any Christians at "Shergarh," but at the Narwar Fort. He was himself more than 13 years the Chaplain of the family.<sup>5</sup> He wrote that, after the Rājā's palace, one of the finest buildings within the Narwar Fort, "was the palace of a certain Christian, born of Armenian parents, whom the gentoo Rajah admitted to the government of this province, and whom the Mogol Emperors loaded with honours and favours. He had houses built for all his family, and a Chapel to God, where he and the other worshippers of Jesus Christ, whether relatives or servants, assemble on all Feast-days and Sundays, one of the Jesuit Fathers saying Mass."<sup>6</sup>

Who else but the Bourbons could then have been living at Narwar, near Shergarh, which their tradition speaks of as the hereditary fief received from Akbar? And yet the head of the Narwar family at that time is said by the Jesuits to be of Armenian parentage, and Col. Kincaid states that Francis de Bourbon (born in 1680) had married in 1710 an Armenian lady, "a relative of his own," and that he was himself descended from Anthony Bourbon (b. 1646), who had married the "grand-daughter of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kincaid; but 1560 *supra*, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. A. H. BLUNT, *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs... in the U.P. of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 41.—The word Aleman might mean also "German."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 48-53.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. MS. in my possession.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BERNOUILLI, *Description Hist. et Geogr. de l'Inde*, vol. I (1786), pp. 4-5. Tieffentaller was at Narwar between July 1747 and the beginning of 1750, also between December 1751 and 1765. A small Catholic Cemetery in the fort of Narwar contains a chapel and several tombs, one of which is dated 1747. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, vol. XVIII (1908), p. 397.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. BERNOUILLI, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 175-176.

Yakoob Khan, Nawab related to Afghan family." All this appears to show a connection with Mirza Zu-l-Qarnain. Does it not seem that, on being lost sight of after Nuralla (1670-78), the Zu-l-Qarnain family passed through a period of obscurity at Delhi and suddenly emerged again at Narwar in all its former splendour and with all its ancient traditions of piety? Other descendants would have been the Cardozo's and de Sa's of Agra and Bharatpur (Cf. App. B.).

If the Indian Bourbons belonged to a later period than alleged by themselves, we do not see how or when they could have deserved their sudden rise to power, or owed it to any other, Lady Juliana Dias da Costa, for instance. The family connections of Lady Juliana II. do not appear to point towards the Bourbons. Nor do I see how they could be descended from that bold and hitherto unknown adventurer, a common soldier, who passed himself off among the Dutch of Batavia as Don Luis de Sylveira Lobo, Count of Sarcetas, then came to Madras and Mülapur, where he borrowed a large sum of money from John Petite, a Frenchman, and was "recognised" as the genuine Count of Sarcetas by a Portuguese Missionary; next he went to several Portuguese towns on the West Coast duping everybody; finally he came to Delhi under the name of John de Souza Montenegro, deceived the Moghul Emperor by his genteel airs, married Theresa Dias de Almeida, daughter of John Dias, a noble of Cochin, and Maria Toscana, a Moorish woman who became a Christian at the age of 40, had a son by her, became a renegade, took the name of Din Muhammad,<sup>1</sup> repented and died before September 7th, 1686.<sup>2</sup>

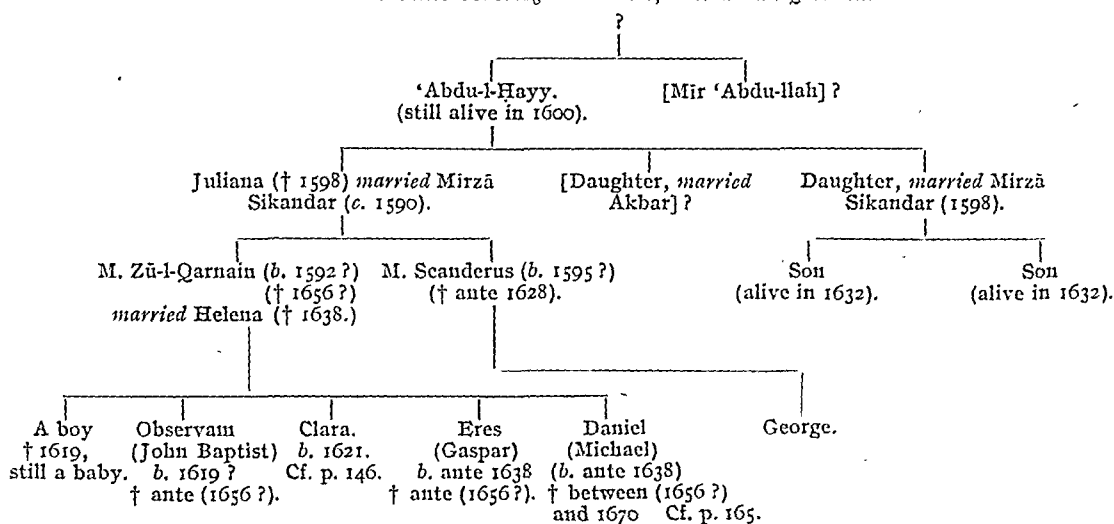
Near Martyr's Chapel, Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, there is a very indistinct inscription, the date of which may be, from the appearance of the inscription, anything between 1611 and the middle of the 17th century. It runs thus: AQUI IAZ IOAN DELACVILLA / DE BORGONHA QUE MORRE'O EM AGRA AOS MEZ DE AGOSTO DE.... Here lies Joaõ (Joam) Delacvilla (?) of Burgundy, who died at Agra in the month of August of . . . —Who was he?

The last word on the Bourbons has not been said. If John Philip de Bourbon can be connected with Zu-l-Qarnain, the earlier and most romantic part of the history of Zū-l-Qarnain's family remains to be told. These pages may help Fr. S. Noti, S.J., in unravelling the very tangled skein of that story. They will also have given my readers a foretaste of the many surprises which the Jesuit letters during two centuries will reveal, when published.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on her Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II. 49; III. 216. Her husband, John Dias, a noble of Cochin, was probably related to Agostinho Dias, also described as a noble of Cochin (cf. App. C.). In that case, the "Count de Sarcetas" married into Lady Juliana II.'s family. Manucci knew also a certain John de Souza, a physician at Delhi (1661-62), II. 49, 56 n. 2, one Juan Dias de Almeida and his daughter (III. 286).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Annual Letter of Mogor (1670-78), MS., fol. 90v-93r.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Annual Letter of Mogor (September 7, 1686), MS., fol. 153.

*Tentative Genealogical Table of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain.*

- N.B.*—1. George was Zū-l-Qarnain's true (*verus*) nephew.  
 2. Zū-l-Qarnain had an uncle, called Jani Beg, at Sāmbhar in 1645.  
 3. Nuralla, a relative of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain, was alive at Delhi between 1670-78.  
 4. A great-granddaughter of Zū-l-Qarnain was Bibi Anna Dessa († 1736, Delhi).  
 5. M. Sikandar's second wife and her two sons apostatised in Sept. 1632.  
 6. Only a bold guess could make of John Philip de Bourbon the father of 'Abdu-l-Hayy.

## APPENDIX A.

### THE MARTYRS' CHAPEL, PADRES SANTOS' CEMETERY, AGRA.<sup>1</sup>

From the Catholic Cathedral, Agra, to the *Padres Santos'* Cemetery, as it is called, there is a distance of about twenty minutes. It is further to the west, on the present outskirts of the town. The name had been explained until now, I believe, as a corruption of Padre Santus' Cemetery, itself a corruption of Padre Santucci's Cemetery. I have held this view myself, but I now suggest that it is derived from the Portuguese *Cemeterio dos "Padres Santos,"* the Cemetery of the holy Fathers, a common appellation among the Portuguese for their priests.

The history of the little mortuary Chapel, in which about 25 of the Mogor Missionaries lie buried, the oldest Catholic piece of masonry in Agra, is exceedingly curious, and in view of the interest which this Cemetery evokes, we cannot withhold it longer.

Fr. João de Velasco, S.J. (*Goana Hist.* 1600-24, Goa 33, foll. 388v-389r, *Litt. Ann.*) writes on December 25th, 1612: "The King granted us for burying the Christians a convenient and ample ground, whither the remains of the Christians were transported amid solemn prayer on the 2nd of November [All Souls' Day]; the presents offered by the Christians for the dead were distributed among the poor, whether of the faithful or of the pagans; whatever remained was carried to the jail to comfort the prisoners, which act of charity astonished and edified the Moors not a little. Lately this place was adorned with a Chapel (*templum*), erected with the alms of a pious Armenian, who, free from the bonds of wedlock after the death of his wife, went to Rome and Jerusalem on a pilgrimage to the holy places of our Redemption. From there he went back to his country (*patria*) and bestowed on the two sons left him after his wife's death whatever they had a right to, after which he devoted himself so wholly to God that he called himself only the Lord Jesus' little slave (*mancipiolum*), and did not allow others to call him by any other name. However, he travelled divers countries as a merchant buying and selling goods, and making profits amounting to many thousands of gold pieces (*aurei*=gold mohurs?). But all his gains he gave away to the poor or spent in other works of piety and charity, and that so faithfully that he was loth to subtract anything for his own sustenance: for, he would say repeatedly that these goods were no longer his, but the Lord Jesus', to whom he had consecrated himself. Once, after a long time, five thousand gold pieces were adjudged him at last in a lawsuit, when, to the judge's wonder, he presently distributed among the needy the money he had received; he ransomed very many captives from his own purse, relieved many in their wants, gave dowries to poor women of good character,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 154.

and thus, like the Lord Jesus' very faithful servant, he spent his goods and his life. Doubtless, he deserved to enter into the joy of his Lord. He was buried in the Chapel (*in templo*) he had built, and he asked Father Xavier to write over his tomb: 'Here lies Martin (*Martinus*), the slave of the Lord Jesus.' This was done, and after his death all that remained of his goods was partly spent in building and adorning the Chapel, as he had ordered, partly given to the poor, whom he had appointed heirs to his property."

Is it not pathetic that the inscription on that good man's grave should have been so long a puzzle to antiquarians, or that his good deeds should be made public again after an oblivion of three centuries? The inscriptions on his tomb, both in Armenian and Persian, are near the right-hand recess of the octagonal chapel, as one enters. These lines, the oldest in the Cemetery, will have been read at times with incredulity, as a piece of vain boasting. How modest an expression they are of great realities and of the gratitude of the poor!

We should think that the translation of the remains of the Christians to the new Cemetery took place on November 2nd, 1610, or November 2nd, 1611. Where was the older Cemetery? Here is a clue, perhaps. During my stay at Agra at the end of December 1912, I interviewed several times the Rev. Mother St. Lucy, the Provincial of the Sisters of Jesus and Mary, who came out in 1854, and was shut up in the Fort during the Mutiny. Not in 1861 or 1862, as the Rev. Mother Provincial put it, but in 1875 or 1876, as a Nun, then a child, remembered, they found while digging a well near the convent, and they pointed to the well before the south verandah, close therefore to the Cathedral compound, 3 stones, each marked with a cross. The stones were about 3 ft. long and 1½ ft. broad.

There were on the stones inscriptions in European characters, and a Capuchin Father, Louis Nuchatelli (?), said: "Look here, these stones are of the 16th century."—"Did he say 16th or 17th century?"—"He said 16th century, if I remember well."—"Strange, because 1600 is the 17th century, and I do not see how the Jesuit Fathers could have had a Church or Chapel at Agra before that date. All the same, they speak of a small Chapel which existed before the one Prince Salim helped them to build in 1604.<sup>2</sup> What did you take those stones for? Tombstones?"—"Yes," interposed the other Nun, "for after that the girls used to say that the convent was built on a grave-yard."—"In what language were those inscriptions? Portuguese?" "I think so."—"Were the stones thick? In the shape of cenotaphs?"—"No, slabs."—"What colour? Red sandstone? White marble?"—"Not red; whitish, but not marble."—"And where are those stones?"—"Who knows? They may have been kept. They ought to have been. The Fathers were much interested in them, and so were we."—"How often," concluded the younger Nun, "have I not spoken of those stones ever since!" I wrote down this conversation on the very

<sup>1</sup> For the Armenian and Persian inscriptions on the tomb cf. E. A. H. BLUNT's *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs . . . in the U.P.*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 32, No. 74, where Mortenepus should be read: Martinus. The Armenian has Martyrose, and this would best explain the name "Martyr's Chapel."

<sup>2</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pp. 89-90. The Church for which Salim gave a substantial sum was begun before September 6th, 1604, cf. *ibid.*, p. 93.

spot, but all my efforts to trace the stones failed. Probably, digging the convent garden or the church compound on the side of the well would bring up other stones.

In 1913, Fr. Hyacinth, O.C., Agra, found in the compound of the Cathedral a stone (2 ft. 2 inches × 1 ft. 7 inches) bearing the following inscription :

A QVI IAZ Q P. IOSEP  
DE CASTRO DAS  
COMP<sup>A</sup> TRESLADADO  
DE LAHOR ONDE MOR  
REO. AOS. 15. DDZEB.

1646.

(Cf. *The Franciscan Annals, Agra*, Cathedral Mission Press, 1913, p. 294). This discovery proves clearly that the present site of the Cathedral and compound is the one occupied by the old Jesuit Mission. I do not suppose, however, that it is one of the stones alluded to by the Nuns. What is curious about this inscription is that Father Joseph de Castro's tomb in the Martyrs' Chapel has as inscription: AQVI IAZ/O P. IOSEPH/DE CASTRO FALECEO/LAHOR AOS 15 DE/DEZEBRO D' 1646./ = Here lies Father Joseph de Castro. Died at Lahor on the 15th of December 1646). I fancy that the stone in the Martyrs' Chapel was brought from Lahore when the body of Fr. de Castro, after a first interment there, was taken to Agra (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 529). The inscription lately found would have been intended to take its place, but somehow it was left lying about. Perhaps, it was rejected because it contained flaws. I have copied it exactly from Fr. Hyacinth's letter of Agra, 5th June, 1913. AQVI should be one word; Q (after IAZ) is meaningless; it must be O, for Q (*quondam*) would not be used without the article o; JOSEP ought to have an H, but there is instead over the P the sign ʌ worn out with time; the same sign occurs over the E of DZEB, 5th line, where it represents the nasal M; if DAS (2nd line) stands for DA S[ANTA], it is unusual; TR (3rd line) and ND (4th line) are worked into compound letters. The meaning is therefore: Here lies Father Joseph de Castro of the (holy ?) Society, transferred from Lahor, where he died on the 15th December, 1646.

## APPENDIX B.

### A GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER OF ZŪ-L-QARNAIN.

In view of the interest which Bibī Anna Dessa's inscription is bound to elicit,<sup>1</sup> I must enlarge on the inscriptions near it.

On December 27th, 1912, I visited the spot where Bibī De Sa's tombstone lies. The site is clearly indicated above. The stones lie under a khirni-tree, in a field having a well. Altogether there are at that place six stones, three of them with inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra* pp. 167-168.



The other two inscriptions state:—

No. 2.                    +

[IA]S IOAO CARDOZ

[O O]BIIT EM BHART

[P]VR POR NOME I[?DE?]

[P]VRTVGVEZ KA

?NANO: 25 DE D

EZEMBRO 1761.

(*Proposed translation.*)

[Here] lies João Cardozo, (who) died at Bhartpur [Bharatpur]. By (the) name of (i.e., *alias*) Portuguese Khān. Year 25th December 1761.

The Agra MS. divides thus: *por nome urtuguezkana no* (by name Urtuguezkana on the). I do not think that the word *AQVI* for "here" ever stood in the beginning. There would have been no room for it on the first line. The inscription could not have begun either with [SEBA]STIAO (Sebastian). For the title Khān recurring, see p. 187, No. 5.

No. 3.                    +

AQUI IAIS

DOMINGO

S CARDOZ

O DESA FA

LECEO EM

AGRA A 22

IULHO D' 17[3]—.

(*Translation.*)

Here lies Domingos Cardozo DeSa. Died at Agra on the 22nd of July 17[3]—.

I hesitated between 173— and 175—. The anonymous Agra MS. has 173—. It translates Domingos by Dominick, an old spelling. A reading of 1876 has 175—.

These six stones are cenotaphs, single blocks of hard stone, and executed in the best style of the cenotaphs in Padres Santos' Cemetery, i.e., the style of Muhammadan cenotaphs. These stones have not apparently been shifted since 1876. Still, I do not see why the writer in the *Agra Arch. Soc. Trans.*, 1876, should have spoken of a mound. A footpath across the fields passed just over stone No. 2, and this in the long run will obliterate the inscription. The inscriptions had lost little of their clearness during these last 60 years. I think it proper to represent to the Archaeological Department of Agra, whose solicitude in these matters deserves the highest commendation, that these stones should be protected from injury either by means of a raised platform or a railing.

Within 5 minutes from the place just described, under a big nīm-tree, in what a native in the fields called Chamalbārā Khet, we found another cenotaph resting on a low narrow pile of red bricks. I was told that the Hindūs worship it on Thursdays, burning *ghī* and offering sweetmeats and flowers. The Agra MS. notes the same. Its head-line: "Inscription on the grave in the old cemetery; the grave worshipped by the natives" is suggestive.

The following appears on the cenotaph:—

No. 4.

+

|          |           |
|----------|-----------|
| AQVI FA. | CDRE DA   |
| LECEO RI | CRVS AO   |
| TA EM B  | S 10 DE D |
| HARAT    | EZEMBR°   |
| PVR FILH | DE 1761 A |
| A DE ALD | NNOS.     |

(Translation): Here died Rita at Bharatpur, daughter of Aldcdre da Crus on the 10th of December of the year 1761.

The meaning intended is evidently: Here lies Rita, daughter of . . . , who died at Bharatpur on . . . . The Agra MS. read *Aldecore* where I saw *Aldcdre*. This is probably an abbreviation for Aldcandre, itself a corruption of Alexandre, Alexander.

With two companions, two boys, I explored the fields in a radius of 5 minutes from No. 4. We examined the stones to be seen in the fields and at the wells, but found no other tombstones. At the wells, worked into the rude masonry, were a number of red sandstone blocks, with carvings, which could not have been brought from very far. I conjecture that they formed the facings and floors of the platforms on which the fashionable cenotaphs we had found must have been resting.

On our way from Puya Ghat Road to No. 4, our first discovery, we came upon an erect tombstone with a Persian inscription of 5 lines each on the two faces of the stone. Scrolls of flowers emerging from a vase were insculped on both (?) faces. As it bore no cross, we paid little attention to it. It is a noticeable landmark. There were hardly any people in the fields; hence, we elicited little or no information. Another, not a stranger to Agra as myself, and with more leisure than I had, might be more successful in settling whether others of the Zū-l-Qarnain family were buried there.

To the inscriptions above I must add a fifth one mentioned in the Agra MS., as in the same direction. Neither I nor the *Agra Arch. Soc. Trans.* (1876) noticed it in the fields.

It ran as follows:—

No. 5.

|            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| [AQ]UI IAS | ECEO EM       |
| [M]ADALE   | [B]HARATPUR   |
| [N]A CARD  | A 10 DE 1768. |
| OZA FAL    |               |

The parts within [ ] are mine.—AIO (last line) represents, perhaps, AÑO, since the month is left out. The meaning would be:—

Here lies Madalena (Magdalen) Cardoza, [who] died at Bharatpur. Year 1768.

Cardoza is a feminine ending for the family name Cardozo. I have come across not a few other examples in India of making Portuguese family names in *o* subject to gender.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I now find this inscription figured in *Trans. Arch. Soc. Agra* (Jan.—June 1875), where the 2 last lines are: [B] HARAT PUR AOS 10 / [M] AIO DE 1758. The Agra MS. might therefore be later than 1776.

We have, then, in the fields, at a short distance of Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, 5 inscriptions recording 3 family names: da Crus, Cardozo and de Sa, the period covered being 1730-1768. One, a da Crus, and two Cardozos died at Bharatpur; Bibi Anna De Sa died at Delhi, one Cardozo de Sa died at Agra, and all are buried at Agra, close to one another, beyond the limits of Padres Santos' Cemetery.

Leaving out of count the da Cruz inscription, which is some distance from the rest, it is quite natural to suppose that the six stones which lie together form a family reserve, especially as on one of them the names of Cardozo and de Sa are united. In fact, formerly they were covered with a dome. Cf. *Trans. Arch. Soc. Agra* (Jan.—June 1875), p. xvi. The Cardozo and de Sa families would have been related to Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain. However, the fact that the only inscriptions found in the fields date only from 1730 to 1768 militates against the supposition that the earlier generations of the Sikandar family were buried in that direction.

It is curious that the Agra MS. should speak of "old cemetery" in connection with our No. 4. If we consider the distance and the regularity of the walls enclosing Padres Santos' Cemetery, it is improbable that those fields ever formed part of Padres Santos' Cemetery, nor could there have been on that side a cemetery older than the latter. It is, perhaps, significant that, while five Jesuit Fathers were buried in the Martyrs' Chapel of Padres Santos' Cemetery from 1730 to 1763, I found in that cemetery only three inscriptions to laymen for the same period. Yet, I copied *all* the inscriptions not noticed by E. A. H. Blunt, both in Padres Santos' Cemetery and in and near the Cathedral (old and new). Two lay inscriptions are dated between 1700-1760; 2 between 1710 and 1720; 9 belong to 1770-1780, and 6 to 1790-1800. One is either of 1720 or 1770; 1 of 1751, 1 of 176(4?) and one of 1768. The inscription of 1751 refers to an Armenian. These figures apply to inscriptions in European characters. As for the Armenian inscriptions, E. A. H. Blunt has 2 between 1720 and 1730; but of the 83—out of a possible 110—which Fr. Felix published from an old MS. in the Agra Archives, none lies between 1730 and 1768. Mr. E. A. H. Blunt speculates also on this anomaly (pp. 31-32 of his book), and it is not likely that the absence of the Court from Agra solves the whole problem. Was there for a time a prohibition to inter lay people in Padres Santos' Cemetery?

Be the explanation what it may, we find in Padres Santos' Cemetery one more inscription that may refer us back to Zū-l-Qarnain. The French is wretched, but the sculptor may have been partly at fault.

CEV ROOS LE CORP DE ALEX/ANDRE DECANE CARDOSO/PERINCUE KAND MORT  
LAN 1775 AGARA./

Unless DECANE stands for *Dakhinī* (= from the Dakhin or Deccan), which is improbable, seeing that the name Cardoso comes next, I propose to read: DECA (Deça, De Sa), né Cardoso, though it involves, I fancy, the anomaly of a man's putting the name of his wife or of his mother before his father's. Perhaps, he was the son of Domingos Cardozo de Sa (cf. No. 3). The meaning would be: "Here lies (Ci repose) the body (le corps) of Alexander Deça, né Cardoso, Feringue [Firinghi] Khān, deceased at Agara (Agra) in the year 1775."

Notice the re-appearance of the name Alexander. Among the Catholic inscriptions from Agra and Sardhana (cf. E. A. H. Blunt, *op. cit.*) one may notice a certain predilection for the name Juliana, too.

E. A. H. Blunt (*op. cit.*, p. 15, No. 42) has the following inscription to another Cardozo from Sardhana: "Sacred to the memory of Manuel Cardozo, who departed this life, Thursday, September 15, 1808, aged 105 years." He notes that a "Frederick Cardozo is mentioned as a servant, and then a pensioner, of the Begam Samru, doubtless a relation of this centenarian." (Reference: *Dyce-Sombre Depositions*).<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX C.

### NOTES ON LADY JULIANA DIAS DA COSTA.<sup>2</sup>

I feel inclined to think that this renegade was Agostinho Dias, father of the famous Lady Juliana of Shāh Ālam's time. Valentyn says that her father was a merchant at Cochin, who, when the Dutch took the place, went to Goa, thence to Bengal and Mogor, his daughter Juliana being born to him in Bengal.

Valentyn must be wrong about two points, *i.e.* (1) that her father left Cochin after the Dutch took it, which was in 1663, and (2) that Juliana was born in Bengal. If Juliana was born in Bengal after 1663, she could not have been, as asserted by Valentyn, 55 years old in 1712, whereas, if she was born in 1658, as Gentil has it, who married in her family, she would have been 54 years old in 1712. Fr. Emmanuel Figueiredo, S.J., says she was born shortly after Zū-l-Qarnain's death. Gentil appears to have the correct date of her birth. In that case she was not born in Bengal, as Gentil also says; for I take it that her father is the renegade, who from Cochin passed to Bengal, and was brought to Agra after the capture of Hugli (1632-33), as we now hear from Fr. Botelho. My reason for identifying him with the renegade is that we hear of one Agostinho Dias in Mogor before 1663. Manucci refers to him. They were together in Multan. "One day, a Portuguese by name Agostinho Dias begged me to abandon the company of the eunuch [Basant], because he knew of a certainty that there existed an order of Aurangzeb for his seizure and execution." The information proved correct. Basant was killed shortly after at Lahore in 1659. (*Storia do Mogor*, I. lxxix, 363-365). By itself, this passage does not prove our contention. It must be compared with a Persian biography of Juliana referred to by Mr. Beveridge in his article on Dona Juliana (*East and West*, Bombay, July, 1903), the translation of which biography by Prof. E. H. Palmer was published in Maltebrun's *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, vol. for 1865. This biography connects Juliana and her mother with the capture of Hugli, the two having been made slaves, it is asserted, to one of Shāh Jahān's ladies. In the case of Juliana this is impossible, since she died in 1732,

<sup>1</sup> My earlier discussion of these inscriptions will be found in E. A. H. Blunt, *op. cit.*, 1911, Nos. 984-87. I had not seen the stones then.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 163, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The statement in Gentil may be borrowed from Valentyn.

aged 75.<sup>1</sup> In the case of her father and mother, I consider that, in the light of Fr. Botelho's allusion, the Persian biography in correct. Juliana's father became medical attendant of Prince Muazzam and died in Golconda shortly before Prince Muazzam was imprisoned by his father, which latter event took place in March 1686. (Cf. H. Beveridge's article in *East and West*, op. cit.). The author of the Persian biography was alive in 1774 and appears to have been related to Juliana's descendants. His name, which has been read Gastin or Gaston Brouet, must be Augustine Bravette or Bravet, also corruptly written Bervette. About the Bravettes see p. 180 above.

## APPENDIX D.

### SOME UNKNOWN PERSONS.

Mr. H. Beveridge found in the '*Amal Ṣāliḥ*' an allusion to two brothers, who were great in Hindustānī and Greek music, and who had the curious names of Baqbai or Baqhai and Fath Hai. "I wonder," he writes, "if they were Armenians." (*Letter of June 8, 1913*). From conversations with Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth I gather that Hai is a distinctive Armenian title, that the Hais are the sons of Haik, the founder of the Armenian nation, Armenia being called Haiastan. (Cf. his *Hist. of the Armenians in India*, p. 3).

In the beginning of the first volume of the '*Amal Ṣāliḥ*' there is question of a Maṣṣūr Firinghī, who, in the 16th or 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign, was in command of 8000 Decanis. He must be the Maṣṣūr Khān Farangi whom we find mentioned in the *Tūẓuk-i-Jahāngirī* (A. Rogers' and H. Beveridge's translation), II. 258, 271. In 1623, he was raised to the mansab of 4,000 personal and 3,000 horse, but was killed the same year when, in a fit of drunkenness, he went to attack single-handed a body of his enemies.

There is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a Persian treatise on medicine, materia medica and surgery, the *Tuhfat el Masiha*. Dr. D. Hooper, who took an interest in the book, gathered from it some details concerning the author, one Dominic Gregory Yutist [?], also known as Dakhani Begbin Raphael Yutist, surnamed Lazar Begbin Joan Yutist or Yaḥya Begbin Ibrahim Begbin Qarāqāsh Begbin Yunas (Jonas) Beg. He was a Greek Christian and a native of Aleppo in Syria, whence his ancestors came to India and settled in Shāhjahanābād (Delhi). Dakhani Beg, according to his own statement in the preface, was a pupil of Sylvester Cross [da Cruz?]. He left Shāhjahanābād and settled in Udaipur as a servant of Jagat Singh, the Udaipur Rānā. It was here that he compiled his Pharmacopœia in 1749 and dedicated it to his patron, Rānā Jagat Singh.<sup>2</sup> We add this note with the faint hope that someone may chance to throw light on this curious genealogy.

<sup>1</sup> Gentil, *Mém. sur l'Indoustan*, p. 378. The Viceroy of Goa writes in 1715 that she was already more than 70 years old! Cf. J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma dona Portuguesa, Nova Goa, 1907*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> From a letter of Dr. Hooper to the author (Calcutta, May 2, 1912).

## APPENDIX E.

## NOTE ON MIRZĀ ZUL-QARNAIN FROM ARMENIAN SOURCES.

BY MESROVB J. SETH.<sup>1</sup>

The following account of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain is a literal translation from the original Armenian of Thomas Khojamall. This account is found as an Appendix to the second volume of Thomas Khojamall's "History of India" in Armenian, which, he says in his preface, was translated by him from the original Persian at Allahabād under the following circumstances:—

"In the year 1768, on the 15th Damah [one of the Armenian months], at the time of Shah 'Alam, at the Capital City of Ellabas [Allahābād], where was the great Dewan Khalsoo, whose name was Rajah Syedrafi, and the other Rajah Driran, who were my friends, at my earnest request and desire, I received from these persons, and in the course of 12 days I translated from the royal Persian books into our language, which was completed on the 26th Damah."

Thomas Khojamall's manuscript in Armenian was found at Agra in 1822 in the possession of one Satoor Arratoon of that place, and, as it was badly worm-eaten, it was copied afresh by one Gabriel Andreasian at the instance of the Armenian Bishop Pogose *en route* to Gwalior. The good Bishop brought the copy to Calcutta and it remained here in manuscript until 1849, when it was edited and published by the Armenian poet and journalist, the late Mesrovb David Thaliatin.

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THE ADOPTION BY KING AKBAR OF THE SON OF HAKOBIAN OF JULFA,<sup>2</sup>  
WHOSE NAME WAS QULQURNELL.

"Akbar Shah the Great, Emperor of India, son of Nasiruddin Humayon, ascended the throne in the year of our Lord 1554.<sup>3</sup> In his days there had come from Julfa a Mr. Jacob, with his wife, and he resided at Kashmir engaged in trade. There a son was born to them; but, unfortunately, not finding a priest at that place to baptize the child, they named him, according to their own wishes, Qulqurnell.

"The mighty Emperor during this time goes to Kashmir to visit his subjects, and, whilst going about incognito, he comes across the child of Mr. Jacob and is much pleased with his beauty. He orders some of his chiefs to stay there and ascertain whose child he is and to take him with his parents to him. The chiefs, having found out, took the parents with him to the Emperor. When Akbar heard that he was of the Armenian nation, he became very glad. He liked the child very much, and, turn-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 120; 120 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sic

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Khojamall's account of Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain seems to me to have been written by himself from traditions, and not to have been translated from the Persian.—H. H., S.J.

<sup>4</sup> Hakob is the Armenian name for Jacob, *jan* being a Persian affix, meaning life.—M. J. S.

Has this name anything to do with Yakoob Khān, the Nawab related to the Afghan family, from whose granddaughter Francis Bourbon was born in 1680? Cf. Col. W. KINCAID, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, III (Jan.—April, 1887), p. 170.—H. H., S.J.

<sup>5</sup> 1556, rather.

ing to the father, said: 'Oh, Mr. moosafir [traveller] and respected merchant, will you give me or not your son, so that I may adopt him, for I have no son?' Mr. Jacob having bowed replied: 'My lord King, live for ever. Although I and mine are your servants, yet I shall not give him willingly, for I am an Armenian by nationality and a Christian, and you are a Turk and Mohammedan; if I were to give you my child and you make him a Mohammedan, I shall be disgraced amongst my own people and they will upbraid me by saying that either for money or through force I gave my son to the King.' The King was greatly pleased at this pious and fearless reply, and he swore that he would never interfere with the religion of either the child or the parents. 'Remain firm in your religion,' he said, 'I shall be exceedingly glad; but, as I have no child, I shall adopt this child.'

"Then he ordered that, dressed in regal robes, they should be taken to his palace and that the child be kept in every kind of comfort as his son as long as he remained in Kashmir. Then, when he returned to Akbarabad [Agra], he took with him this very adopted Qulqurnell with his parents and there gave to Mr. Jacob for his residence a place near the Seakhana <sup>1</sup> (or Armoury) of the King. He then ordered that they should build a Church, have an Armenian priest brought out and follow their ancestral faith. Hearing this, there came to Akbarabad from Julfa an Archimandrite,<sup>2</sup> a priest and many Armenian families, who were very well received by the King, who granted them 5000 bigahs of land at Akbarabad for building houses, gardens, farms and other important places. But Qulqurnell, the adopted son of the King, was always at the Palace, where he was a great favourite of both the King and the Queens, and you may say he was being taken from the arms of one to another.

"God knows how to make his beloved respected before foreign nations, because the King was kind enough to allow an Armenian child to remain pure in his religion and for his sake show respect to his nation; therefore God too was pleased to reward him according to his wishes; hence, in the year 1563, on the 17th of Rabi-ul-avval, He gave the King a male child, from his favourite Queen, and he was called Mir Salim Salathin, that is to say, heir-apparent. The mighty Emperor too was not unaware of this divine favour, for it is said that he would always say, 'God looked at me and gave me this my second child through the coming of the Armenians and my favourite son Qulqurnell.' And thus the two children growing up together were very fond of each other, and the King seeing their innocent love was exceedingly pleased.

"When Qulqurnell came of age, Akbar gave him landed properties, namely Jagirs, the town of Hooghly in Bengal, the province or pergannah of Samar [Sāmbhar] in the district of Akbarabad, whence comes good salt, and the country of Punjab in Lahore. Then Qulqurnell commenced building himself grand palaces with shops all round and he had jewellers, that is Johurris,<sup>3</sup> whom he occupied, for they say he himself was very fond of buying and selling precious stones. It seems he was by

<sup>1</sup> *Silāh-khānā*.

<sup>2</sup> There is question of an Armenian Bishop who, unable to proceed to Malabar by sea for fear of the Portuguese, went to North India by Persia, but died on the journey in or before 1600. His books were robbed and came by and by into J. Xavier's possession. Cf. ANTONIO COLAÇO, S.J., *Relaçam Anual* . . . de 600. y 601 (Translated from Fr. Guerreiro's Portuguese *Relaçam*), Valladolid, 1604, p. 60.—H. H., S.J.

<sup>3</sup> *Jauhari* = jeweller.





Zū-l-Qarnain's manṣab of 7000, etc. Manṣabs above 5000 were reserved to His Majesty's "august son." Cf. *Ain* (transl.), I. 237.

Zū-l-Qarnain's *jāgīr* at Hugli may be a reminiscence either of the concession made by Akbar to the Portuguese in 1578-80 or of its being restored to them, perhaps through the Mirzā's mediation, after 1632. Cf. *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. X, Pt. I, January-March 1915, pp. 48, 109.

In Zū-l-Qarnain's disappearance from the Court on the accession of Jahāngir we see also a distortion of the facts. He was only 14 years old at the time. The facts intended are probably these. When Sikandar, his father, came from Sāmbhar to Agra, at the end of 1605 or beginning of 1606, to congratulate Jahāngir on his accession, Jahāngir tried to tamper with his religion, and Sikandar, fearing probably that he would do the same with his two children then at the Court, took them away with him to Sāmbhar. When at Lahore (1606), Jahāngir, remarking the absence of the boys, had a search made for them. They were brought back, and shortly after forcibly circumcised. Sikandar on hearing of this was inconsolable. For three days he wept and refused all food. One of his servants was sent to Lahore to take information, and the Fathers wrote back to say that it was not safe for him to come himself. After that the King acted as if nothing had happened. (Cf. Fr. GUERREIRO, S.J., *Relaçam.... de 606. & 607.*, foll. 152v-155r). According to Father Botelho (cf. *supra*, p. 160), Zū-l-Qarnain disappeared after his forcible circumcision, and was at last found and brought back.

A search should be made for the *Rāgmalā* containing the Mirzā's name. It contains perhaps in addition some of his Hindustānī or Hindī compositions.

It is a curious fact that our Armenian author looked towards Chandernagore for Zū-l-Qarnain's descendants. Had he not heard of the Bourbons of Narwar and Shergarh and their claiming descent from him? It is the more curious because Khojamall on his tombstone in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, declares: "Thomas, son of Khoja Mall of Ispahan. I was servant of the Council of Chinsurat. 1789, January 22nd."

Among the Catholics of Agra there is the same tradition as among the Armenians about large gifts of land granted to the Jesuit Fathers and situated at Agra, and the wonder is why the English Courts of law set aside the claims of the Catholic Mission to these concessions.—H. H., S.J.

